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Dissertation

THE KINGDOM OF THE BOOK: THE HISTORY OF PRINTING AS AN AGENCY OF CHANGE IN MOROCCO BETWEEN 1865 AND 1912

by

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THE KINGDOM OF THE BOOK: THE HISTORY OF PRINTING AS AN AGENCY OF CHANGE IN MOROCCO BETWEEN 1865 AND 1912

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Boston University, Graduate School, 1990

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Abstract

From 1864, when printing technology was first introduced to Morocco, until 1912 when the country became a French Protectorate, Moroccans managed several printing establishments which can be credited with contributing a variety of major changes in Moroccan history. The main purpose of printing, according to Moroccans of the time, was to revive Islam and maintain its tradition. Instead, printing technology changed the manner in which Islamic tradition was transmitted and changed the power structure of the traditional leaders.

On a political level the use of printing technology was recognized by the Sultans, the 'Ulama (i.e., the religious scholars) and the notables as a formidable agent of propaganda enhancing the power of the group in control in the country and abroad. A conflict between the Sultans and the 'Ulama emerged as a result of competition among these groups for control of this technology, thus paving the way for censorship and total monopoly of printing by the State.

On an economic level the utilization of printing helped to introduce the principle of gathering experts, namely technicians, scholars and publishers, in one place to mass produce a commodity for the market-

place. This signified a shift from Morocco's centuries-old service-oriented book trade towards an inventory-oriented business which necessitated the opening up of distribution outlets and the use of advertisements to insure profitability and growth. This new technology also had a major impact on the function of the scribal class.

On yet another level, the use of printing also resulted in the production of well edited texts, the accumulation of data, the preservation and wider dissemination of knowledge. The abundance of printed books gradually weakened the traditional memorization system in education. Publishers focussed their efforts on the larger reading public producing more and more issue-oriented and affordable texts at the expense of the traditional and too specialized texts. Both new ideas and new forms of expression began to be widely circulated. Writers copyrighted their works. A new era began in which independent and creative ideas were more important and rewarding than writings which served as links in the traditional chain of authority transmitting divine knowledge from one generation to another.

PREFACE

My interest in Moroccan studies goes back to the Fall of 1969 when I was selected by the Ministry of Education in Iraq to become a member of the Iraqi educational mission to Algeria in order to assist the local government in its campaign to Arabize the country.

From 1969 until 1972, when I immigrated and settled in the United States, I was constantly exposed to Moroccan literature and its people through reading and numerous visits to various parts of the country like Wujdah, Nadur, Mililiyah, Fez, Tetuan and Tangiers. As a graduate of Shari'ah College (of the University of Baghdad) in 1967 where I was trained in Islamic jurisprudence and Arabic studies, I was impressed with Morocco's ability to preserve its Arabic language and many aspects of its Islamic tradition despite almost five decades of French attempts to undermine the country's social and educational institutions. In contrast to other North African nations, especially Algeria, Morocco appeared to be less threatened by the French legacy and in particular the French language, which was the official language of administration and higher education in the country. At the time, I attributed Morocco's strong sense of security to a hybrid system of education combining both Islamic studies and Western topics right from the start of the French era in 1912. This combination was lacking in Algeria not only because of the absence of such education but also because of the much harsher French policies and their extended existence in Algeria from 1830 until the 1960s.

Aside from my involvement in Arabization and regular contributions as literary critic to the Algerian daily newspaper,"al-Sha'b", my inte-

rests in Morocco did not take a practical turn until the fall of 1977 when I was appointed Arabic Language Specialist at Harvard College Library, responsible for selecting books and cataloguing them.

The logistics of my responsibilities at Harvard brought me very close to the Moroccan collection, in particular, the Fez lithographs which are considered problematic for scholars and students because they are in the old Maghribi script which is not easy to read. Because no one else had attempted to control the Fez imprints, I took it upon myself to undertake this project to provide access to this literature and to carry out research about Moroccan intellectual life at a future time.

After I had completed my Master's degree at Boston University majoring in North African history, I began to collect data concerning the question of Arabization in North Africa. After I wrote a long essay about Arabization in Algeria I decided to engage my energies in studying the history of printing as an agent of change in Morocco because, unlike Arabization, no one had yet dealt with the topic in a systematic fashion.

With the endorsement of the library administration at Harvard, namely, Dr. David Partington, the head of the Middle Eastern Department, I began to compile the Fez bibliography. I also received suggestions and encouragement from several Moroccan scholars like G. Ayache, Muhammad al-Manuni, Abd al-Rahman al-Fasi and Abd al-Wahhab ibn Mansur among many others. I purchased a good number of the books for Harvard, recording whatever information I could find about the Fez lithographs during my repeated and productive visits to several re-

search libraries and old book stores in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, France, England and the United States. The result of this endeavor was the accumulation of several hundred titles documenting the entire period from 1864 when printing was introduced to Morocco and 1946 when presumably the last lithographic machines were destroyed in Fez at the hands of the French authorities.

With a wealth of material at hand and the proper background in Arabic, Islamic studies, and librarianship, it was an easy choice to decide the topic of my doctoral thesis under the direction of almost the same professors who had trained me in the Master's program.

However, the presentation of this thesis was no easy task. Studying printing alone involved three dimensions each of which included at least one or more aspect. For example, studying printing requires knowledge about the technology, its product and the forces behind the tool or the product. This included historical knowledge about the technology, the purposes it was made for, the organization surrounding printing and its management, the nature of the product (i.e. book format and content), the skills of the printers, and the background of those who were more likely to be involved in the process like authors, editors, typesetters, scribes, publishers, and above all the ability to read the Maghribi script.

To complicate the matter further, the element of change which was suggested by Professor Irene Gendzier as the thrust of the thesis or the bridge between the two eras of manuscripts and printing, required thorough knowledge of Moroccan history before the advent of printing, in particular the way Moroccans produced their manuscripts, and what it

meant to the country as a whole.

In my attempt to examine the era of manuscripts in Morocco, I was faced with a major obstacle in the form of an apparent contradiction between the availability of ample evidence in the Koran, Hadith, etc. supporting learning, scholarship, education (see A. al-Yusi's Qanun, Fez, 1893) and the fact that no one in Morocco had made a serious attempt to introduce into the country a printing machine which is made to serve knowledge. As a student of Islam, I knew about the existence of a few religious obstacles in translating the Koran into non-Arabic languages, basically because the Koran is regarded by Muslims as God's miracle (Mu'jizah) the way it was written. I also knew that because of the miracle factor, copying the Koran required extreme attention to duplicate it the way it was put together by the Third Caliph, 'Uthman ibn Affan, during the seventh century. Also, there was the question of Taharah (i.e., purity) which meant that non-Muslims could not handle the Koran, first because they were non Muslims and second they might use impure, or unacceptable substances such as pigs hair, fat, etc. in dealing the with Koran.

Accordingly, I turned my attention to the Ottoman Turks to see how they came to be the first among all Muslims to accept printing technology. To my surprise, the same patterns of apparent contradiction between theory and practice were repeated despite the fact that the Ottomans were followers of the Hanafiyah school of jurisprudence which is historically much more opinionated and less traditional than the Malikiyah school which the Moroccans followed. At this point, I turned my investigation towards the Koran and the early legal texts of Islam

where I found a set of interrelatd principles such as the belief in Islam's superiority and purity in regard to non-Muslims to be the main factors which prevented Muslims for centuries not only from adopting printing, but also in their preference of one brand over another (i.e. lithograph versus moveable type) when they finally decided to utilize printing.

What is significant here is that no other scholar has attempted so far to make the connection between Islam's refusal to adopt printing for centuries, and its self-proclaimed superiority. This conviction energized Muslims from the Seventh Century on to build their education, scholarship, script, etc. around the Koran. But it hindered them from adapting to the rapid changes of the world, especially since the modern world was conceived and propagated by Europeans who as Christians were regarded as inferior by the world of Islam.

What this means is that Muslims, and in particular the traditional elements, had to change their attitudes towards non-Muslims if printing were to be accepted. It also meant that without the threatening challenges put to Muslims by Europeans, printing would never have been accepted. It was Europe's rise to supremacy which forced Muslims to change their attitudes towards non-Muslims and their printing technology. The acceptance of printing therefore signified the modification and sometimes the abandonment of traditional Islamic principles. It was also for this reason that the relatively open-minded and practical Ottomans emerged to be the first Muslims to adopt printing (in 1727) while the more traditional Moroccans were among the last (in 1864).

So, to trace and develop the elements which contributed to Islam's change of attitude towards printing, it was necessary to present this study in three segments; the first, which I refer to as the era of manuscripts, required the coverage of manuscript production in Morocco and its intellectual contents as evidence to see how Islamic principles have been reflected in manuscript production (Chapters I and II). In the second segment (Chapters III and IV) the history of printing in Europe, its invention, management and spread to the Muslim world, namely Istanbul which was the main center of Islam from which it spread to the rest of the Muslim world.

In the third segment (Chapters V through IX) I traced and discussed the elements which contributed to the introduction of printing and its initial acceptance among Muslims in Morocco. The acceptance of printing and its integration into Moroccan society resulted in a series of modifications and changes which affected the social, economic, political, educational and intellectual aspects of Moroccan life, and ultimately helped the country to become a meaningful member of the the modern world.

Two important points should be noted: first, with few minor modifications, I have used the Library of Congress's transliteration system for its convenience and legibility to many scholars; Second, this study could not have been completed without the assistance and input of a great number of friends, relatives, among them my wife who labored long hours to edit, type, revise and suggest ideas for the sake

of clarity for readers unfamiliar with the subject. Also I want to thank Dr. David Partington who read and discussed with me most of the thesis, and Professor Muhsin Mahdi of Harvard who listened patiently for over a year to my arguments about the topic. It was through these discussions that I found my way to the core of Islam to address questions related to the use and implications of pritning in Morocco between 1864 and 1912.

Finally, my sincere thanks and gratitude go out to all the members of my committee who took time to read this thesis and provide valuable suggestions. In particular, Professors Irene Gendzier, Herbert Mason and Merlin Swartz whose contributions and impact on the direction of this thesis are evident throughout, especially in its organization and thrust.

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INTRODUCTION

In this Introduction I will discuss the significance of the major sources which I utilized in writing about the history of printing in Morocco, and point out, whenever possible, some of the reasons why this subject has been overlooked. This study, consists of nine different chapters but thematically it is in three interrelated categories; first, the study of book production in Morocco before the advent of printing; second, the invention of printing and its spread in the Muslim world; and third, the history of printing as an agent of change in Morocco between 1865 and 1920.

In the first category (chapters I and II) three kinds of sources were utilized: unpublished manuscripts, secondary sources and consultations with experts on Moroccan or Maghribi script. Among the unpublished materials, there is no doubt that Ahmad al-Rifa`i's manuscript, "Hilyat al-kuttab," (Rabat, 1816?) is the most useful and important text available. What is significant about al-Rifa`i's work is that it represents Moroccan standards for penmanship. al-Rifa'i informs us that he first composed a poem entitled, Nazm al-la'ali al-simt, and when requested by his contemporaries to explain it he wrote, Hilyah in which he gave an explanation of the rules of penmanship.

Prior to al-Rifa`i's Hilyah, Moroccans possibly used al-Arabi al-Masari's Nur al-siraj, (Fez, n.d.) as a guide to script writing. However, this latter 17th century text is too brief and general as it covers all aspects of Islamic scholarship. It was also written in poetry form (Nazm), but no one attempted to write a commentary

about it until the 1890s when one of the leading 'Ulama of Fez, Ahmad al-Balghithi, did so and published it in Cairo in 1898. al-Balghithi's commentary is entitled, al-Ibtihaj.

Both texts, and their commentaries, were utilized to assess book production in Morocco in terms of the script used and the background of scribes. Although the above texts are available at the National Library in Morocco and the introductory portion of al-Rifa'i's Hilyat al-kuttab has been printed in two scholarly periodicals, Da'wat al-Haqq (Rabat) and al-Mawrid (Baghdad), no one has thus far benefitted from these valuable sources to explore the still somewhat obscure cultural history of this period.

The second category of sources I used included scores of catalogues covering the manuscript holdings of various private and public libraries in Morocco (for details see the bibliography). Among the most useful of the manuscript catalogues was Muhammad al-Manuni's bibliographic essay, "al-Wiraqah fi al-'asr al-Alawi." al-Manuni's essay is a record of the production of some one hundred and twenty scribes who were active during the period between 1790 and 1860. al-Manuni's main purpose in compiling his bibliography was to highlight the achievements of Morocco under the Alawite Sultans by giving the numbers of manuscripts which were produced in all fields of Islamic sciences. To put al-Manuni's material to a different use I reorganized his bibliography under several categories such as subject matter, the financial sponsors or buyers of books, the origin and the background of the scribes. The purpose of such reorganization was to see what kind of themes were of greatest interest to Moroccans before the advent of printing, and from

what social background or regions of the country the scribes came from, and above all, who benefitted most from the production of manuscripts in Morocco. Such insights were of great significance to this study in order to be able to recognize and properly assess the various changes which directly or indirectly related to the utilization of printing.

The third source of information was direct contact with famous scholars like Muhammad al-Manuni, Muhammad Hajji, the former Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at the University of Muhammad V, Rabat and al-Arabi al-Khattabi, the Librarian at the Bibliothèque Royale in Rabat. The purpose of these consultations was not only to examine the needed manuscripts but also to confirm certain findings such as the fact that book production in Morocco was service (Mu'ajarah) oriented instead of inventory based; the verification of scripts and their documentation according to locale. Some of the results of such consultations are evident in illustrations of various Maghribi scripts. In addition, I was also able to obtain valuable biographical information about many Moroccan scribes like member of the Ibn Sudah family. Information about script and scribes is not easily obtained without considerable training and knowledge of Maghribi scripts which probably is the main reason why most of the contemporary scholars have overlooked the history of printing in Morocco. Most of the primary materials are still in manuscript form and for the most part inaccessible except for those who can visit the country and use them on site.

In general, none of the source material cited above, whether primary or secondary) examined the social, religious or intellectual signfi-

cance of book production in Morocco before the advent of printing. This study provides the first attempt to do so.

The second segment (Chapters III and IV) of this study is a brief review of the history of printing in Europe, its invention, management and spread to the Muslim capitals, especially Istanbul, which became the first Muslim center to import a machine and utilize printing technology.

Most of the source material utilized in this segment are familiar texts and documents. This includes Alois Sonnefelder's A Complete Course of Lithography (London, 1819); Antoine Raucourt's A Manual of Lithography (London; 1821). These books were of great assistance in appreciating lithographic printing which was very common in Fez up until 1912. In addition, other serious works were consulted about the moveable-type printing which appeared in Tangiers in the 1880s and in Fez in 1906. Among such works were James Moran's comprehensive study, A Anatomy of Printing (New York, 1970).

However, among all the useful books about printing, the most significant and interesting works were Elizabeth Eisenstein's The Printing Press as an Agent of Change (Cambridge, England, 1980) and Ibrahim Muteferrika's essay, "Wasilat al-tiba`ah", which he published as an introduction to the Ottoman's first printed book, al-Jawhari's Sihah, (Istanbul, 1728). Eisenstein worked hard to diagnose and define the major elements of what she called, "the print culture". Such elements are normally reflected in the various effects which the utilization of the technology brings about. Among such effects are the production of

identical texts in large numbers, the standardization of the script, the creation of an organization to handle the distribution, the accumulation of data, and the preservation and dissemination of knowledge, among many other potential effects.

Although Eisenstein's study does not directly address the history of printing in Morocco, I have benefited from its framework as a guide to the observation, documentation and discussion of the various effects of printing technology in Morocco (Chapters VI-IX).

As for Muteferrika's essay, "Wasilat al-tiba'ah" it, too, was of enormous value to this study. Muteferrika was from Transylvania. He converted to Islam and emerged as a statesman in the Ottoman Empire. He also became the first official manager of the printing establishment in Istanbul during 1728. To facilitate the acceptance and spread of printing among the Muslims, especially the religious leaders, he wrote his "Wasilat al-tiba`ah" highlighting the various benefits of the technology to education and for the dissemination of knowledge. Also, he solicited over ten written statements from leading Ottoman judges and 'Ulama of the time to support his venture. However, despite all, the Ottoman Sultan, with the recommendation of the Empire's Grand Mufti, limited the utilization of printing to produce secular topics only.

This ban on printing Islamic texts was not broken until late in the 18th or early 19th century when the traditional 'Ulama like Muhammad Haqqi printed their books and came to grips with the economic and other values of the technology. It was via Haqqi's book, <u>Mafza` al-</u>

khala'iq, (Cairo, N.D.) that Moroccan 'Ulama like al-Mahdi al-Wazzani, in his book al-Mi`yar al-jadid (Fez, 1910) copied Muteferrika's ten points in defense of printing, attributing them, as Haqqi did, to the 'Ulama of Islam instead of to Mutteferika.

In Chapter IV of this present study I have presented the ten points in defense of printing the way Haqqi understood them. The difference between Haqqi's and Muteferrika's interpretation is that the former saw printing as a tool to serve Islam in the traditional way to stand up to Europe, whereas Muteferrika viewed printing as a means to strengthen the declining power of the Ottoman Empire by spreading education. In Morocco, where the Malikiyah Tradition went back to the early days of Islam, and Sufism had deep roots at all levels of society, the path of reform envisioned or forged by Haqqi was followed with the aid of printing.

The third segment, which embodies the central theme of this study, is devoted to the history of printing in Morocco and the effects of its utilization on the government, the 'Ulama, the printers, the publishers and the production of intellectual or scholarly publications in the country between 1865 and 1920. (Chapters V-IX).

Aside from the tens of sources which were used to construct and present the first two segments (Chapter I-II; and III-IV) additional sets of published and unpublished books, bibliographies, and documents were utilized. This literature consisted of:

A) The Fez imprints which are documented in my bibliography Matbu`at Fas al-hajariyah, 1865-1940, (Rabat, 1989 forthcoming). In this bibliography some 463 titles have been verified and classified under the

names of authors, editors, publishers, printers, scribes, and the distributors of paper in Morocco whose names appeared in the water or dry mark in the books. The production of this bibliography has been an integral part of the research for this study, and most of the factual details about book production in Morocco have been gleaned from the bibliography.

My bibliography is an extension of several previous works, among them E. Levi Provençal's and M. Bencheneb's Essai de répertoire chronologique des éditions de Fès (Algiers, 1922). The significance of Provençal and Bencheneb's work is that it presents a subject classification of the 405 different titles it includes. Many of these titles were erroneously presumed to be printed books and dated some eighty-two years before lithographic printing was invented by Alois Senefelder of Germany in 1798. Another significant aspect of this work is its presentation of the various editions of the same book in and outside Morocco until 1922. A combination of the subject classification as well as the list of editions, was utilized in this study to learn about the popular texts in Morocco as well as to understand the direction of scholarly and intellectual activities.

In addition to Provençal's Essai, there were other similar works upon which my bibliography was based. The most important was Idris al-Idrisi's Mu`jam al-matbu`at al-Maghribiyah, (Rabat, 1989). al-Idrisi died in 1971 leaving behind him a short list (one hundred typed pages) of Moroccan imprints. This list was developed by al-Idrisi's son, Abd al-Wahhab, into four times its original size and was published at the beginning of this year under the name of al-Idrisi.

The difference between the original and the expanded version of al-Idrisi's list is not only the size but also the content. The expanded version consists of biographical information about each author along with an extensive record of Moroccan imprints between 1865 and 1970 including educational material for all levels of schools in Morocco. Both the original and expanded versions by al-Idrisi have been utilized in this study to document the activities of printers and to assess the size of the book production.

B) Published and unpublished primary sources. Included here were several significant works by Muhammad al-Manuni in his Mazahir yaqzat al-Maghrib, (Beirut, 1985); Germain Ayache's "L'Apparition de l'Imprimerie au Maroc" published in Hespéris-Tamuda in 1964; Abd al-Salam al-Runda's "Hadith ma`a al-Tayyib al-Azraq," (Mss., Rabat, 1917).

In Mazahir, al-Manuni presents over one hundred different documents covering the social, economic, political and cultural conditions in Morocco between 1830 and 1912. Most, if not all, of these documents were beneficial to this study, especially the ones related to the history of printing. This includes, first, the contract which was signed between Muhammad al-Tayyib al-Rudani, the Moroccan who first introduced the tool of printing to his country, and Muhammad al-Qabbani of Egypt, who was brought to Morocco by al-Rudani along with printing equipment to start a business and operate it. Second is the financial records of the printing operation which were kept by the Grand Vazir, al-Tayyib Bu`ishrin also known as Bel Yamani. These documents show the wages paid to the printers and students and the cost of running the printing operation. Third is the correspondence between Moroccan offi-

cials and Egyptian heads of state on the one hand and the printers and scholars on the other, in regard to importing supplies, training students, establishing outlets to distribute books, and honoring printers. Fourth is a brief list of the Fez imprints showing the products of the printers and those who were involved in promoting them.

al-Manuni's overriding aim in writing his book, Mazahir, was to demonstrate that there was a general movement and awakening (Yazqah) in Morocco before the French protectorate in 1912. This movement was generated by the rise of Europe and its direct and indirect threat to Morocco. Although al-Manuni succeeded in his purpose, he stopped short of providing any form of critical appraisal of his documents, and questioning of their meanings. To give one simple, but still very significant example, while compiling his historical data, al-Manuni transmitted the opinion which was common among the court historians like Abd al-Rahman ibn Zaydan, that when al-Rudani brought his printing machine to Morocco he gave it as a gift to Sultan Muhammad IV. It is rather unusual and illogical to think that al-Rudani purchased a printing machine from Egypt, shipped it to his hometown, Tarudanit, in southern Morocco, commissioned a printer to work for him for a year, then, while at the port of al-Suwayrah (near Tarudanit) decided to give his machine to the Sultan.

According to al-Runda's Hadith which I uncovered in Rabat during the summer of 1985, when the machine arrived at al-Suwayrah, the authorities discussed its fate with the Sultan who ordered it to be sent to Meknes in central Morocco where the country's first book, al-Shama'il by al-Tirmidhi, was printed in 1865. The narrator of this

incident in Hadith was al-Tayyib al-Azraq who was one of the students of the Egyptian printer who accompanied the machine to Meknes and became Morocco's first manager and instructor of printing for the government.

Contrary to al-Manuni's approach to writing history, is that of Germain Ayache. He had identical interests with al-Manuni but was critical in approach and interpretation. In his essay "L'Apparition..." Ayache provides similar documentation to that of al-Manuni. In fact, a fascimile of the contract between al-Rudani and al-Qabbani (Ayache calls him al-Qayyani) are presented along with an illustration of al-Shama`il's colophon (ending remarks) in which the date and the place of the publication appear. Using such material, Ayache drew a clear picture about the circumstances in which printing arrived in Morocco and he also raised interesting questions such as what happened during the interim period between August 1864 (the date the contract went into effect) and 1865 when al-Rudani's machine ended up in the hands of the Moroccan government. Ayache suggested that because of this time lapse (a few months) it is possible that another publication might have been produced before al-Shama'il.

On the one hand, this present study benefitted a great deal from Ayache's pioneering efforts in marking the beginning of printing in Morocco, and pointing out the problems faced by earlier historians dealing with the topic. On the other hand, Ayache's essay included a few inaccuracies which had to be revised in this study. Among them was his suggestion that Moroccans did not know before 1964 that al-Shama'il was Morocco's first printed book. Another inaccuracy was his sugges-

tion that there might have been another book printed before al-Shama'il because of the gap between the machine's arrival in the country and the date of al-Shama'il's publication. His third inaccurate assumption was that al-Rudani gave his machine to the Sultan as a gift, whereas a more reasonable conclusion is that the Sultan confiscated it for his own use.

C) Secondary published and unpublished studies like Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani's "al-Mazahir al-samiyah," (Mss., Rabat, 1927?); Muhammad Zarif's "al-Hayat al-adabiyah fi al-zawiyah al-Ma`ayniyah," (MA thesis Rabat, 1987); Roger Le Tourneau's Fès avant le protectorat, Beirut, 1986; Susan Miller's "Voyage to the Land of the Rum" (Ph.D. thesis), The University of Michigan, 1976, were used to clarify and strengthen a variety of points made throughout the thesis. A. al-Kattani's al-Mazahir offers a wealth of information about several members of the Kattaniyah Sufi order like the author's father, Abd al-Kabir, his brother, Muhammad, and his first cousin, Muhammad Ja'far. In addition, the text includes a wealth of information about the relationship between the Kattaniyah leaders and Ma`al-Aynayn, members of the Panislamic 'Ulama in the Ottoman Empire (like Yusuf al-Nabhani) and the Moroccan officials, namely Sultans Abd al-Aziz and Abd al-Hafiz. These facts were very valuable to this study because among all the other Sufi orders in Morocco, the Kattaniyah leaders were involved in utilizing printing technology to promote their internal interests as well as their relationship with the Ottoman Empire. Similar to al-Kattani's al-Mazahir is M. Zarifi's al-Hayat al-adabiyah where one can find numerous details about the 19th century religious leader Ma`al-Aynayn and his

followers, and the religious and cultural activities in Morocco. Ma`al-Aynayn was involved independently and in conjunction with the Moroccan government in utilizing printing to consolidate his standing and influence in Morocco.

Le Tourneau's famous book, _Fès avant le protectorat_, was also very important to this study as it covers many of the same topics. Among such topics are: the history of printing, scholarship, and education in Morocco. However, because of the very wide scope of this book, there exist many serious omissions and errors. Some of these errors have been observed by Ayache in his essay, "L'Apparition".

Le Tourneau leads us to believe that the moveable type printing in Morocco started by the turn of the century when Sultan Abd al-Aziz imported a German-made machine from Leipzig which apparently was unused and consequently dismantled. Le Tourneau informs us that he obtained such information about printing from a printer called Muhammad Bardullah (i.e. Barradah). In fact, Barradah was not a printer. He was a publisher whose name appears as such in the colophone of the Fez imprints three times between 1897 and 1918. Second, the Leipzig machine was imported form the East to assist the pro-Ottoman elements in Fez to resist the rising European influence in Morocco, through the promotion of Panislamism, a point which is discussed in detail in this present study. Furthermore, despite the fact that Le Tourneau lived in Fez for a decade, he failed to write about printing in Morocco beyond the few erroneous remarks mentioned above or discussed by Ayache. Also, Le Tourneau consulted French sources like A. Peritié's "Les Medrasas de Fès," and G. Delphin's "Fès, son université, et l'enseignement supé-

rieur musulman," Oran, 1889, which provided external and superficial information about the nature of traditional education in Morocco. This was done despite the availability of printed texts like Ahmad al-Balghithi's al-Ibtihaj, (Cairo, 1898) in which a great deal of insights are provided about education and scholarship. al-Balghithi was a leading poet, writer and one of the graduates and teachers of the Qarawiyin Mosque College in Fez. In this study I have used al-Ibtihaj on numerous occasions to provide a clearer and more realistic picture about education and scholarship in Morocco in as much as they relate to the utilization of printing.

E). Susan Miller's "Voyage to the Land of the Rum" is a translation and a study of Muhammad al-Saffar's Rihlah (Journey), to France in particular, Paris between December 1845 and March 1846. This study is as interesting and useful as the above works. The accounts by al-Saffar are important because they came in reaction to the growing threat of the French in Morocco. This threat prompted the Moroccan Sultan to send an envoy to Paris, whom al-Saffar accompanied as clerk, spiritual leader and observer of the basis upon which Morocco's enemies built their power.

In this study I used long citations from al-Saffar about printing and reform and compared them with Celebi Mehmed's accounts of his travels to France from his Ottoman homeland.

Mehmed was a statesman, and his observations and recommendations about the French civilization and power are often referred to as the manual which guided the Ottoman Turks in their reform policies. In Morocco, al-Saffar's accounts most likely had the same guiding effects

as did Mehmed's accounts. It was al-Saffar who tutored Morocco's renowned reformer, Sultan Hasan I, when he was young. He also was one of the closest advisers and ministers to both Hasan's father, Sultan Muhammad IV and Hasan himself, up to the early 1880's, a period which is marked in history books as the most significant in the history of reform in Morocco.

In short, a substantial number of primary and secondary source materials were used in this study, especially the Fez lithographs which are significant not only because of their contents, but also because the colophons are rich with information about the details of printing in Morocco. I have used these details to document and interpret the history of printing in Morocco between 1865 and 1920.

CHAPTER I

MANUSCRIPT PRODUCTION IN MOROCCO BEFORE THE ADVENT OF PRINTING

In this chapter I will direct my discussion to the actual activities of book production in Morocco and examine three major points about books during the era of manuscripts: 1) the script, 2) the background of the scribes and, 3) the size of the book production.

The purpose of this study is twofold: the first is to emphasize the Islamic and the Malikiyah principles as they were translated into action in the field of book production, and the second is to see how the forces of the Malikiyah tradition (i.e. the Sultans, the 'Ulama and the notables) were the major benefactors of the system. The significance of this attempt is to find an answer to the question of who in the the era of manuscripts contributed to and monopolized the dissemination of knowledge and how this knowledge was shaped to suit the needs of those individuals or groups within the society who acted as its guardians and promoters. This point is very important because it will reveal to us some of the major characteristics of the era of manuscripts in Morocco, which will be the subject of modification and change as a result of utilizing printing technology.

Assessing manuscript production in Morocco during the nineteenth century, or in any given period, is both difficult and complicated. Records are rare and the field is still unexplored. As a consequence, relevant information must be gleaned from a variety of sources such as the personal accounts of scribes, the colophons of manuscripts produced during the period, and the numerous bio-bibliographical dictionaries

which recorded the lives and activities of scribes and scholars who were the backbone of book production in the country.[1]

Below, I will present and analyze the personal accounts of Ahmad al-Rifa'i (d. 1846) who was one of the leading professional scribes of his time who left behind a significant and still unpublished manuscript: Hilyat al-kuttab,[2] in which he recorded his experience as a young student, and described the process of script writing.

The accounts of al-Rifa'i are as follows:[3]

> When I was little, I was sent [by my parents] to the Maktab [i.e. primary school] with other Muslim children. God....gave me the inspiration [or the instinct] to like copying. Our teacher was Sidi Sabbatah al-Andalusi of Rabat, who had very fine handwriting. Continuously I watched him and copied on my Lawh [i.e., board] what he wrote. He [the teacher] corrected me, and I rewrote repeatedly the way he did with the hope that I would pick from his garden a few flowers. When I felt that I had picked some fruit from his high branches, I began copying on my own.
>
> When my teacher knew of my interest, he added a few more words for me to imitate, and told me; do it this way and not that way. Then I began writing on paper until my script was improved and turned straight.

1. There are two short essays about book production in Morocco during the first half of the 19th century. One is by Muhammad al-Manuni, "al-Wiraqah al-Alawiyah" in Da'wat al-Haqq, vol. 24, no. 246(March 1985), pp. 133-151. The second is by C.C. Stewart, "A new source on the book market in Morocco in 1830 and Islamic scholarship in West Africa," in Hespéris Tamuda, vol. XI-fasicule unique (1970), pp. 209-246.

2. The original copy of this manuscript is at al-Khizanah al-Ammah, Rabat under the number, 254d. In my possession is a microfilm of this copy.

3. A. al-Rifa`i, Hilyat al-kuttab, pp. 2-8. This portion of the book has been published by both Hilal Naji and al-Muhammad al-Manuni. See Naji, "Nazm la'ali al-simt; a poem by Ahmad al-Rifa`i', al-Mawrid, vol., 5, no. 4 (winter, 1986), pp. 173-184; al-Manuni, "al-Wiraqah al-`Alawiyah", Da'wat al-Haqq, vol. 24, no. 246 (March 1985), pp. 133-151.

[At the second stage] I kept close contact with my first cousin and teacher, Mawlay Ahmad, who [also] had pretty and good handwriting. [My first cousin] taught me how letters are organized and how harmony among them is created.

[At the third stage] I moved to read books which were written in pretty script, and selected what I liked or others liked [and among all kinds of scripts]. I have never found a script which can express meanings as powerfully as the Andalusian script, which also added to the clarity of the truth.

In Fez, when I was studying and visiting the shrine of Mawlaya Idris, God gave me the easy opportunity to meet the complete [mystic], Master, Abd Allah Sidi Muhammad al-Tuhami al-'Alami al-Wazzani, who took me out of Fez to his house among the tribe of Bani Waryaghil in the al-Darfar region of the [Southern] Dar'ah Valley where I copied for him several books, the last one of which was al-Bukhari's [Sahih] in ten volumes.

For about four years, I resided with [al-Wazzani] until Shaykh al-Islam Abu al-Hasan 'Ali ibn Ahmad... the son of the Sharif [al-Wazzani] who is mentioned heard about me and requested that I join him in his Zawiyah (i.e. sanctuary) in Wazzan. At my departure, I asked Sidi al-Wazzani to pray for me and for my script in order that it be acceptable to others.

When I joined Mawlana 'Ali he said to me that he wanted me to copy books for profit which will be for both. I replied, 'yes, my Master. Working with you, plus [sharing] the profit that is the best.' [Thus] he pointed out to me what he wanted to be copied. I remained with him an [additional] four years copying nothing but books on Sufism. Once he gave me the privilege to copy a book for him about the divine secrets. The very last which I copied for him was the copy of Mushaf [i.e., the Koran].

Then, from [Mawlana 'Ali] I moved [to work] for his son, Abu Abd Allah al-Tuhami, whom I stayed with in Wazzan, copying books in the field of Ta'dil [i.e. fixing time for prayers] and the like until my handwriting fell in the hands of the [Sultan] Sulayman al-'Alawi. He asked Mawlana 'Ali who was present at his court, whether he could recognize in whose handwriting the script was. [Mawlana 'Ali] replied yes we know him. He used to write for us. Then

the Sultan requested from Mawlana 'Ali to bring the scribe with him during his next visit to the Sultan.

It happened that [the Sultan] was ill in Marrekech and Mawlana 'Ali was about to visit him [again]. He introduced me to Sidi Muhammad ibn al-Sadiq al Sharif al-Raysuli al-'Alami who accompanied me to meet the Sultan and join the corps of nine other scribes in his court.

[After years of working for the Sultan, he] selected me from among the ten scribes in his court to teach his son whom I accompanied until he memorized the Koran."

Although the above citation by al-Rifa`i does not provide clear and direct information about the scribes in general, the script or the size of the books, it is still of great significance in the details it provides about the process of copying. From al-Rifa`i's account it is possible to make certain inferences which will be discussed below.

The points from al-Rifa'i's remarks which concern us most are: first, the script, its variations and what they meant in terms of culture and education; second the scribes and their social background; third the size of the book production, and who used the books most.

I). The Script

Based on what al-Rafa'i told us, it seems that he had to learn the art of penmanship, or copying in a public school and through imitation. First he learned by imitating his teacher, Sabbatah, then from his cousin, Mawlay Ahmad, who had good handwriting, and finally from the scripts of selected manuscripts which were available to him in his hometown, Rabat, where he was educated.[4] Also al-Rifa'i told us that his personal choice for a script was the Andalusian script because it

4. For general biographical information about Ahmad al-Rifa`i see M. Bujandar, al-Ightibat, pp. 39-48. See also note 3 above.

"added to the clarity of the truth." In actuality, what al-Rifa`i told us suggests that becoming a professional scribe was an individualistic effort based on talent and instinct which was further nourished and crystallized by education and the availability of good samples to imitate.

In addition to defining "script" as something written by hand, it can also be defined as a "signature" or an "autograph" in the sense that each script, or piece of handwritten material has its own unique character. Despite the fact that education will create similarities within any given region, there will still be differences from one script to another. The significance of this point is that scripts as signatures were verifiable on an individual basis, or according to the regional styles. This made it possible for the authorities to recognize and control, if needed, the nature of the books produced. For example, a duty of the Muhtasib (i.e., market inspector) was to make sure that trade monographs were well prepared in terms of their quality of ink and paper, as well as their legibility. The inspector also determined whether or not they were potentially damaging to morality or the religious standards.[5] However, when the Sultan Sulayman asked his associates to identify the scribe of a letter in his hand, his intention seems to have been to hire al-Rifa`i as a scribe in his court.

Historically, the style of writing in Morocco is known as Maghribi script which is believed to have reached the North African regions via Egypt and al-Qayrawan as well as Andalusia. The origin of the Maghribi

5. Ahmad al-Balghithi, al-Ibtihaj bi nur al-siraj, vol. 1, pp. 230-234.

script and its development have not been sufficiently studied and documented yet. But, from the very little that we know, it seems that the original Andalusian script is a variation of the Eastern Kufic script. While the Andalusians abandoned their style in favor of other Eastern scripts during the Abbasid period, Moroccans remained faithful to the original Andalusian script.[6]

Because of Morocco's geographical location on the fringe of the Muslim world, it is tempting to assume that it was its isolation from the main center of Islam which prevented it from adapting or replacing its medieval form of script. However such an assumption has proven to be untrue because on the one hand Moroccans throughout their Islamic history have remained in close contact with Eastern Muslims through annual pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina[7] and through the importation of basic Malikiyah Traditional texts and commentaries. On the other hand, there is clear evidence that the Eastern Naskh (cursive) script had always been in use in Moroccan manuscripts but such use was limited to title pages and chapter headings only, for aesthetic purposes. (see illustration number 1) Other than that, Moroccans remained loyal to the original Kufic style because it was viewed as the script with which the oldest surviving copies of the Koran were inscribed.[8] In fact, Moroccan 'Ulama and Sufis alike regarded copying Islamic books as a form of worship which involved maintaining not only the Malikiyah tradition, but also the traditional script of the Koran as well. Fur-

6. L. Golvin, "Kitabat in North Africa" in Encyclopaedia of Islam, N.E. vol. 5, pp. 220-221.
7. See Umar al-Naqr, The Pilgrimage Tradition in West Africa.; al-Manuni, al-Rakb al-Maghribi.
8. Salah al-Munajjid, Dirasat fi tarikh al-khatt, p. 96.

thermore, Moroccan 'Ulama adhered to the same Islamic belief that the Koranic script is as sacred and holy as the Koran itself. al-Dabbagh who was a leading 18th century Sufi scholar from Fez wrote that:[9]

> The script of the Koran is one of the [divine] secrets of viewing [Mushahadah] God, and complete [spiritual] elevation. [The script directly] comes from the Prophet. Neither the companions of the Prophet, nor anyone else had anything to do with it, not even [in as much as] as single [piece of] hair. It was he [the Prophet] who ordered them [i.e. secretaries] to write it [i.e. the Koran] according to the known structure with [the letter] Alif [sometimes] added [to words] and [sometimes] dropped, and the like for secrets [which] our minds cannot comprehend without God's revelation. [Thus, just] as the composition of the Koran is a miracle, its script is a miracle as well."

The implications of such a belief were great in Morocco. It paved the way for a set of religious instructions and appropriate etiquette to control the quality of manuscripts in terms of using better ink, paper, and clear, beautiful script so that the the text would add to the clarity of Islamic truth. Also, to some devout Muslims and even to those calligraphers who were well paid, producing aesthetically exceptional texts was an effort to express the inner spiritual quality contained in the text. This took an extended period of time to produce.

So what did this mean to printing technology? Would Moroccan 'Ulama, as decision makers, agree to the shift from the traditional sacred script to the printed word which originated in Christendom or the East? There, printers disregarded some of the characteristics of the Maghribi script by using one dot for the letter Qaf and putting the dot for the letter Fa' under. Could printing technology

9. M. al-Kurdi, Tarikh al-Qur'an, p. 193.

successfully challenge the Arabic tradition of penmanship and calligraphy and produce texts to rival manuscripts in quality, and beauty? Answers to these questions as we shall see will further our understanding as to why Moroccans resisted the change for centuries and what were the real reasons for the shift from script to the printed word.

The other important aspect of studying the Maghribi script is its cultural and economic implications. During the first half of the 19th century, in addition to utilizing Andalusian script in the main cultural centers like Rabat, Fez, Tetuan, etc. Moroccans used another set of styles which are considered regional variations of the Maghribi script. In the far south, Moroccans used the Sahrawi script (i.e., the desert script) while in the Souse region, the style is known as the Susi script.[10] What combines the Susi and the Sahrawi or the Andalusian script is that they are all Maghribi scripts. What separates them is the fact that each of the styles is the product of different economic and educational environments. For example, the Sahrawi script appears rough and uncultivated as if it were a clear reflection of the harsh desert environment where books are scarce and higher educational centers are rare or non-existent. As a matter of fact, during the 19th century the Western Sahara did not produce any good quality scholars except for Ma' al-Aynayn al-Qalqami (d. 1910) whose numerous writings and private library constitutes the main and the most visible sign of

10. For examples of the various Maghribi scripts see Muhammad Hajji, Fihris makhtutat al-khizanah al-Subayhiyah, pp. 19, 26, 30 44, 37, 40. Sukayrij, "al-Khatt...", Mujallat al-Thaqafah al-Maghribiyah, no. 2(1941), pp. 67-72.

cultural activity in the desert.[11]

In contrast to the desert, the Souse region was much richer in educational centers like Tarudanit, al-Suwayrah, and Wadi Dar'ah which produced scores of great scholars and books which are carefully recorded in al-Mukhtar al-Susi's bio-bibliographical work al-Ma'sul.[12] In comparison with the Sahrawi script, the Susi script appears much finer and richer in colors and use of gold to decorate the punctuation and chapter headings, etc.

Furthermore, when we compare both the Sahrawi and Susi styles with the Maghribi script used in various main educational and cultural centers like Fez, Tetuan, Sala, Rabat, Marrakesh, it becomes apparent that the styles used in these centers were superior. The script in general is much clearer. The use of colors in decoration or to differentiate between quotations and commentaries is rendered in two or more different sizes.[13] In the main centers we also find additional styles within the Maghribi script such as the mujawhar script according to which letters are drawn in round shapes to resemble jewels, to enhance the beauty of the script [see illustration number 2]. There is the mabsut style in which letters are extended for the purpose of clarity and simplicity, and the zimami style which tends towards a repetitive but still distinctive and elegant style. [see illustration number 3]. What all these varieties of styles of script in Morocco show us is that

11. Muhammad Zarif, al-Hayat al-adabiyah fi al-Zawiyah al-Ma`ayniyah, vol. 1, pp. 124-131; H. Norris, "Ma' al-Aynayn al-KalKami", Encyclopaedia of Islam, N.E., vol. 5, pp. 889-892

12. See also his other books, like Madaris Sus al-`atiqah; Khilal Jazulah, al-Ilghiyyat; al-Tiryaq al-mudawi, great sources of information about the cultural activities of the Souse region.

13. A. al-Khatibi, L'Art Calligraphique Arabe, pp. 154, 156.

it was in the main educational centers like Fez and Rabat where the best quality books were produced. As a matter of fact, in these main centers, as al-Rifa`i informs us in his book, Hilyat al-kuttab, scribes were divided into four distinctive groups: one group was organized by the royal court and specialized in writing letters for the Sultan and government officials in the zimami style which was most fit for governmental prestige and status. The second type specialized in the text of the Koran using the mabsut style which is simple and clear so that the text would be legible without much effort. The third type specialized in copying texts in Hadith and Fiqh in the same style as the Koran because Hadith and Fiqh came after the Koran in reverence and status. The fourth group specialized in instructing the children of the Sultan.[14]

However, despite the seemingly highly specialized and diversified script of 19th century Morocco, it seems that the only organized group of scribes in the country were those like al-Rifa'i himself who worked for the royal court or taught members of the royal family. What this means is that if the Makhzan (i.e., government) were to adopt printing technology for its needs then there would be little or no resistance to it not only because the bulk of the 'Ulama and the most influencial scribes were government employees, but also because the Sultan, as a direct descendant of the Prophet, and a representative of the divine authority had the final decision in determining the fate of printing.[15]

14. al-Rifa`i, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

15. For a general essay about the authority of the Sultan and the 'Ulama in Morocco, see E. Burke, "The Moroccan 'Ulama 1860-1912" in Scholars, Saints and Sufis: Muslim Religious Institutions Since 1500. Edited by N. Keddie, pp. 93-125.

Therefore, despite all the religious, social and economic obstacles to printing, the authorities provided an open door through which the new technology could enter into the lives and activities of the Muslims. Also, would the Moroccan government, or whoever adopted printing technology take into consideration the type of printing which should be used? Should it be the lithographic machine which has the capacity to maintain the diversity of the Maghrebi script, or should it be the moveable-type which, because of its make and nature, would alter the traditional script through its standardized type?

II) The Scribes

During the first half of the 19th century, in addition to scribes like al-Rifa`i, there were an estimated ninety other scribes who were actively involved in the profession for monetary or other gains.[16] According to a bibliographic essay by Muhammad al-Manuni about the scribes in Morocco during this period it is possible to identify three groups or categories of scribes. The first group included several members of the royal family and a high government official. The second group consisted of numerous members of the notable (A'yan) families from the main cultural centers of Fez, Tetuan, Rabat, Sale, Wazzan, and Marrekech. The third group consisted of scribes whose backgrounds or regions indicate an involvement to a certain degree of less privileged members of the society in producing books in Morocco.

To realize in full what book production meant to each of these three groups, and to find out how these groups interacted to serve the

16. al-Manuni, "al-Wiraqah al-`Alawiyah" in Da`wat al-Haqq, vol. 23, no. 4 (1982), pp. 10-24; vol. 25, no. 246 (1985(), pp. 133-151.

needs of Moroccans for resources, educational and spiritual, it is necessary to take a close look at the activities of each group. In the first group, in addition to Sultan Sulayman, we find the names of his two sons, Prince Abd al-Salam and Yusuf, and the Minister al-`Amrawi among the noted scribes at this period.[17] It is also interesting to note that before assuming his ministerial position in the Moroccan government, al-`Amrawi was engaged in bookselling (Warraq).[18] This gives us a good impression that the Warraq profession, which included copying books, was prestigious and instrumental in obtaining higher positions. This was true for al-Rifa`i who climbed the social ladder to be a private scribe at the royal court and a teacher of the Sultan's children. According to Bujandar in al-Ightibat, al-Rifa`i was appointed governor of Fez for a year in 1817.[19]

In the case of Sultan Sulayman, his direct action in copying books such as the poetry collection by al-Hilali (d. 1761) is not surprising because such involvement normally yielded handsome religious or political rewards. At the same time involvement in scholarly activities was a traditional endeavor for most of the Moroccan Sultans for centuries mainly because they were educated and heavily influenced by the 'Ulama educators. Sultan Sulayman, for example, was a student of al-Tayyib ibn Kiran (d. 1812). Even after he assumed power in 1792, the Sultan continued to attend classes of leading scholars at al-Qarawiyyin Mosque in Fez.[20] In fact, Sultan Sulayman had an earnest interest in

17. Ibid.
18. al-Manuni, op. cit.
19. Bujandar, op. cit., p. 41.
20. A. Ibn Zaydan, al-Durar al-fakhirah, p. 72.

scholarship and has been acknowledged as the main link in the chain of authority for the famous Hadith collection Sahih [by] al-Bukhari.[21] He has also been credited as one of the commentators on the other most popular book in Islamic jurisprudence, Mukhtasar by Khalil ibn Ishaq.[22]

The rewards of copying books or promoting scholarship were immediate and evident throughout Sultan Sulayman's reign. Abd al-Rahman Ibn Zaydan, in his book, al-Durar al-fakhirah, informs us that it was the great scholar al-Tawudi ibn Sudah (d.1795) who put together the document of Bay`ah (Homage) for the Sultan.[23] Also, when Sulayman ordered books to be authored or copied, the 'Ulama such as Hamdun ibn al-Hajj (d. 1816); Abu al-`Ala Idris, etc. composed poems in praise of the Sultan and his good deeds which brightened the face of Islam and Morocco. These poems were rendered in two places; the colophon of books, as Abu al-'Ala Idris did in his book al-Bayan wa al-tawdih, and in public places like water fountains, or the gates of mosques and schools where the public could see and read the beautifully enscribed words in priase of the Sultan.[24] This is not to mention the fact that it was much easier for the 'Ulama to praise the Sultans with vigor and sincerity during the Friday masses, when the Sultans acted like one of them. So in short, whether or not the direct involvement of the ruling family was purely religious or for more scholarly purposes, there were clear propaganda values which were reaped from any form of involvement

21. Y. al-Kattani, Madrasat al-imam al-Bukhari fi al-Maghrib, vol. 1, p. 386.
22. A. Bin AbdAllah, Ma`lamat al-fiqh al-Maliki, p. 123.
23. Ibn Zaydan, op. cit., pp. 67-68.
24. Ibid., pp. 68-70, 74.

with scholarship or copying books. What this means is that the Moroccan Sultans, knowing the propaganda value of their involvement in books or scholarship, continued their same endeavors during the upcoming era of printing and thus became one of the major benefactors of printing technology.

The second group of scribes included among its members numerous Sharifian or notable names such as al-Rifa'i himself, al-Qadiri, al-Rahhuni, al-Fasi, al-Siqilli, al-Tahiri, al-Shabihi, al-Simlali, al-Tadili, etc.[25] At the same time most of the prominant scholars and educators of the period like Ibn Sudah, Ibn al-Hajj, Abu al-'Ala Idris, Ibn Kiran, etc. came from the same background.[26] Furthermore some of the scribes like al-Rifa'i and his teacher al-Rahhuni were also scholars and educators.[27] What this meant is that the Sharifian and notable families had a dominant role in both book production (in terms of writing and copying) and education (in terms of teaching and tutoring).

Furthermore, when we verify the regions or cities where scribes (or scholars) came from, we find that the overhelming majority came respectively from Fez, which is the cultural and religious capital of Morocco, and from other important cities like Rabat, Tetuan, Marrekech, and Wazzan.[28] This suggests that, in order for the printing business to succeed, it had to be located in one of the major cities. It would also be obviously a tool in the hands of the notable and Sharifian

25. al-Manuni, _op. cit._
26. Ibn Zaydan, _op. cit._
27. Bujandar, _op. cit._
28. al-Manuni, _op. cit._

families who would determine its direction and the types of books it would produce. Furthermore, since the Sultans and Sharifians or notables were the major benefactors of book production, would not this common interest among the upper echelon of Moroccan society and government continue during the era of printing? Or would there be a rivalry between the Sultan and the Sharifian for example, in determining the nature of the knowledge which would be disseminated among the public?

The third group of scribes included among its members, names like al-Timilli, al-Tashfini, al-Asifi, al-Sahrawi and al-Tijkani who are credited with copying a few books in distant regions of the desert or in the southern Souse regions.[29] Because not much information is known about them, one could suggest that at their best they were like an oasis in a large desert where their usefulness and importance was great. However, their impact on the main stream of book production in Morocco was minimal. Nevertheless, these far and distant lands could some day be of some use as fringe markets for printed books.

III) The Size of Book Production

In assessing the size of the book production in Morocco during the first half of the 19th century, the obvious and most direct way is to multiply the number of active scribes during the period by the number of their output. However, such an approach is neither possible, as no one knows yet the exact output by each scribe, nor is such a method fruitful because it might obscure the real nature of the book production. The book trade was essentially a service oriented market and the source of the demand normally dictated the nature of the product.

29. *Ibid.*

Scribes geared themselves to fulfill demands from various social and economic groups in the society such as the members of the royal family, the religious body and the literate among the public. Thus, rather than strive to assess the exact size of the book production we can compare the output of three scribes, al-Rifa`i, al-Qandusi and al-Tadili who produced books for different constituencies in Morocco to understand more fully the nature of book production during this period.

The accounts of al-Rifa`i show that during the twelve years he worked in Dar`ah in southern Morocco and in the northern city of Wazzan, he managed to produce about seventeen books of various lengths, among which was Sahih by al-Bukhari in ten volumes. This meant that al-Rifa`i's output was on average 1.4 volumes per year. This seems to be a very low production rate. The most likely explanations for why al-Rifa`i could not accomplish more are two: first, al-Rifa`i, like most of the scribes of his time, was not totally devoted to copying books.[30] He wrote the correspondence of his employers (the Sharifs of Wazzan) and possibly was also engaged in other activities in the religious sanctuary of Wazzan such as teaching.[31] Second, the type of specialized and key books like Sahih which he copied for his employers required meticulous attention to detail especially to the rules of proper copying. These rules included the proper preparation of the

30. In Kenneth Brown's book, People of Sale, there is no trace of scribes as a distinct group. This is the case because it was not a full-time profession except for the scribes of the royal court.

31. al-Tahiri, Tuhfat al-ikhwan bi-manaqib Shurafa` Wazzan. This book includes a great deal of information about the activities of the Sharifs in Wazzan and their services and about the followers of the sanctuary who performed services as builders, herders, tutors, etc.

paper, good quality ink, special plates to make straight lines throughout the text, etc.[32] However, the most important aspect of book making was not in obtaining the proper materials. These were available in the market. Instead, it was the actual copying of the text itself. For example, when we take a close look at Sahih by al-Bukhari, we find that it is made up of 97 books with 3450 bab (i.e., chapters or sub-chapters) and some 7397 traditions (sayings by the Prophet) with their full isnad (chain of authority) to Muhammad the Prophet.[33]

To copy Sahih properly meant hard and extended labor; total alertness to avoid errors; and the skill to render the text in two or three colors or different sizes so that the citations would be recognizable and consistent in format and the chapter or sub-chapter headings would be visibly larger than the main content. Although decorating books, especially at the beginning and con-clusion of texts, was not required, some master scribes like al-Rifa`i added such decorations as an extra to reflect their high regard for their sacred texts, or to please their distinguished employers. So, accordingly, the low output by al-Rifa`i is understandable because of the length of Sahih and because of the special care and creativity which went into it.

Among the scribes who were as skilled as al-Rifa`i and also had similar low output, were al-Zahrawi (1801) who copied al-Rihlah (a book on travel to Mecca and Medinah, by al-Ayyashi; al-Baqqal (1814); al-Sufyani (1838); al-Basri (1856) and Laghzawi (1860) who were believed to have prepared copies of Mukhtasar and its commentary by al-

32. al-Balghithi, op. cit., pp. 230-246-257.
33. J. Robson, "al-Bukhari", Encyclopaedia of Islam, N.E., vol. 1, pp. 1296-1297.

Khurashi. They also made copies of Sahih for various notables and government officials like al-'Alawi al-Madghari the Chief Justice of Meknes; Muhammad al-Salawi who was a minister to the Sultan and both `Abd Allah and Abd al-Qadir ibn Hisham who were members of the royal family.[34]

The second type of scribe represents a few artistic steps higher than scribes like al-Rifa`i who were employed by the wealthier members of Moroccan society. A rare example is al-Qandusi who is known for copying seven copies of the widely popular book, Dala'il al-khayrat by al-Jazuli as well as a few copies of the Koran. The sample pages from Qandusi's work as they are presented by al-Khatibi in l'Art Calligraphique Arabe[35] leave no doubt that al-Qandusi's intention was not simply penmanship or copying according to the religious regulations. Instead, his aim was the production of a work of art through calligraphy. Each page of al-Qandusi's Dala'il included no more than three or four lines, and each line had three or four words rendered in blue against a yellow background.

What is most intriguing about the era of manuscripts in Morocco is that despite the fact that there were no schools to train calligraphers, the general environment was conducive for unique calligraphers[36] as al-Qandusi, to polish their talents and learn, through imitation, the art of calligraphy. They used this form either to express their attachment or devotion to religious texts like

34. al-Manuni, op. cit.
35. al-Khatibi, op. cit., pp. 145, 151, 154, 156
36. al-Rifa`i, op. cit., p. 30. Here al-Rifa`i states "that the reason why he rose to compose [his] book about scripts was because the art of penmanship was completely absent in the Gharb [i.e., Morocco].

Dala'il, a main prayer text in Sufi circles, or simply for material gains, or even for both.

There is no clear evidence that al-Qandusi was hired by any particular person. However, the fact that he produced multiple copies and that the surviving copies, at the present time, are only available at the Royal Library in Morocco suggests that at least six of the seven copies which al-Qandusi produced were to meet the demand of the few who could afford the quality of his work. Also, given the fact that Dala'il was widely popular (see the following chapter) al-Qandusi probably produced his Dala'il for the royal family members because his skill would match both the status and prestige they would demand.[37]

The third example, al-Mu`ti al-Tadili (fl. 1846) represents the populist aspect of book production. There were scribes who devoted their lives to their profession which was the main source of their livlihoods. As his name indicates, al-Mu`ti al-Tadili came from the Tadla region which was the center of the historically important al-Zawiyah al-Dila'iyah. It was a large religious sanctuary during the 17th century and housed the largest and richest library in Morocco in Andalusian manuscripts. This was partly due to the fact that the zawiyah emerged for a brief period of time as a small kingdom under the Dila'iyah Sufi leaders who turned the zawiyah into an important cultural and educational center. Also it is due to the fact that the Tadla

37. al-Manuni, "Tarikh al-Mushaf al-sharif fi al-Maghrib", Majallat Ma`had al-Makhtutat, vol. 15, pt. 1 (May 1969), p. 37. Here al-Manuni indicates that al-Qandusi wrote a portion of the Koran [i.e., Rab`ah which means a quarter] for Minister Idris al-Amrawi in twelve volumes. These volumes are in Ibn Zaydan's private library in Meknes. The Ibn Zaydans of Meknes are members of the `Alawite Royal family in Morocco.

agricultural region was heavily settled by Andalusian families who are believed to have donated their books to the zawiyah for public use.[38]

According to al-Manuni, the scribe al-Mu`ti al-Tadili is believed to have produced one thousand copies of both Dala'il al-khayrat by al-Jazuli, and the text of the Koran combined.[39] If we assume that al-Tadili was engaged for 30 to 40 years in copying then we can also assume that his average output was between 25 to 30 volumes per year. This seems reasonable especially if his main requests came from the public sector where such texts were used heavily and discarded according to Islamic regulations through burial or burning.[40] Given this custom, it is also not surprising that none of al-Tadili's works has survived.[41] Just as al-Qandusi was unique in his talent and excellent work, al-Tadili was also a rarity in terms of his high productivity. As a matter of fact, the nearest scribe in terms of level of production was al-Mu'in al-Dasuli who is believed to have copied 200 copies of the widely used school judicial text, Sharh al-tuhfah by Ibn 'Asim.[42] What all this means is that scribes in Morocco were well adjusted to meet demands from across the social spectrum for scholary books, prayer books, educational or artistic books. In addition, the extreme and sharp contrast in level of production between scribes suggests that Moroccans were self sufficient in book prodcution as they seem to have responded well to the demand. Also, it seems clear that only the upper

38. Muhammad Hajji, al-Zawiyah al-Dila'iyah, p. 71.
39. al-Manuni, "al-Wiraqah al-`Alawiyah", Da`wat al-Haqq, vol. 25, no. 246 (March 1985), pp. 133-151.
40. Abu Dawud al-Sijistani, Kitab al-Masahif, p. 197.
41. al-Manuni, op. cit.
42. Ibid., p. 10.

society, namely members of the royal family, levels of the 'Ulama, the heads of religious sanctuaries, benefited most from the production of books. They were the main consumers of the legal, educational or artistic texts while the literature for the public was limited to popular religious texts like the Koran and Dala'il al-khayrat, and possibly the text Mukhtasar by Khalil, etc.

In short, an examination of the activities of the scribes and the system of book production in Morocco during the first half of the 19th century reveals that both the early Islamic principles and that of the Malikiyah Tradition dictated the manner in which books were written and helped to clarify who were the quardians and promoters of knowledge, (i.e., the Sultans, the 'Ulama and the notables). Accordingly, it is not surprising to see that the book business in the era of manuscript-writing in Morocco was class and service-oriented, especially since the bulk of literature was housed in Morocco's major cultural centers where most of these three power groups resided and operated.

What this has shown us is that printing technology was not needed and its introduction to the country in 1864 was an untimely accident. Printing represented change and the necessity to transform the book business from its service orientation to an inventory-based operation establishing a network of outlets for distribution and publicity. The most significant aspect of printing is that it allowed the mass production of books. The technology introduced the ability for its users to produce many thousand identical copies of the same text which meant that what previously had been a scarce commodity would thereafter become accessible to a much wider number of people. Knowledge and

information which previously had been under the control of a small number of people (the 'Ulama, the notables and the Sultans) would now be easily available to large numbers, thus diminishing the power of these groups. It is with such factors in mind that Moroccan decision-makers will hesitate and prolong the adoption of printing in the country.

In the next chapter I will take up another major aspect of the era of manuscripts in Morocco, which is the intellectual content of book production, to see what the major trends of thinking in the country were before the advent of printing. Such knowledge should be of great use in determining how these trends were affected by the utilization of printing, a subject taken up on the coming chapter.

CHAPTER II

INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITIES IN MOROCCO BEFORE THE ADVENT OF PRINTING

In this chapter I will discuss the most popular topics or themes as revealed by the manuscripts produced in Morocco during the first half of the 19th century. The purpose of this discussion is not only to learn about the major intellectual activitites of the period, but also to ascertain the religious and historical signficance of such activities. In addition, this discussion should provide us with a proper background to readily recognize the similarities and changes in the themes addressed in the books produced before and after the advent of printing.

The topical inventory of books produced between 1800 and 1865 show a wide range of subjects which seem to have preoccupied the ninety or so scribes who were active in copying books for themselves or their clients during this period.[1] Among such topics were Hadith literature, jurisprudence, Sufism, poetry and a few scientific works on geometry and arithmetic.[2] The majority of works produced were in

1. M. al-Manuni, "al-Wiraqah al-`Alawiyah", Da`wat al-haqq, no. 246 (1985), pp. 133-151. Here al-Manuni lists 124 individual scribes who were active between 1790 and 1861. I have narrowed down this number to ninety as I limited the period between 1800 and 1861. The year 1800 was chosen for conveniency only and because the focus of this study is the 19th century.

2. The manuscripts which were produced at this period also included travel literature like Rihlah by al-Ayyashi (copied in 1801); medical texts like Takmilat al-tadhkirah by al-Antaki (copied, 1806); literary or poetry books like Diwan by Hawwat (copied, 1820); Diwan by al-Hilali (copied, 1822 - this book was copied by Sultan Sulayman); Kamamat al-zahr by Ibn Abdun (scribed, 1856); al-Maslak al-sahl by al-Afrani (copied, 1820); and historical works like al-Muqaddimah by Ibn Khaldun (copied, 1830); Nashr al-mathani by al-Qadiri (copied, 1813); Rayhanat al-kuttab by Ibn al-Khatib (copied, 1831). See al-Manuni op. cit.

Sufism,[3] jurisprudence[4] and Hadith.[5] Therefore, I will limit this discussion to those three areas and see why these topics were popular at the time.

1. Hadith literature

In the field of Hadith, the bulk of the demand seems to have been limited to the texts of Sahih and its shuruh or hawashi (i.e. commentaries).[6] The text of Sahih which was compiled and edited by the 10th century scholar and traditionalist al-Bukhari, is a collection of sayings and biographical details of Muhammad the Prophet. Being the second most important source of Islamic law after the Koran, it is not surprising to find the 'Ulama of Islam utilizing Sahih in their studies, their preaching, and their legal affairs throughout the Muslim world.[7] However, in Morocco, especially from the 16th century on, Sahih was utilized in much more meaningful and imaginative ways than

3. Among the books on Sufism which were copied along with their dates of duplication were al-Mizan by al-Sha`rani (copied, 1806); al-Salat by Ibn Mushayyish (copied, 1812); al-Nasihah by Ibn Zarruq (copied 1840); al-Hikam by Ibn `Ata (copied, 1849); Dala'il al-khayrat and al-Burdah by al-Busiri (copied, 1844).

4. al-Qawanin al-fiqhiyah by Ibn Juzayy (copied, 1813) Sharh mukhtasar by Khalil ibn Ishaq (copied, 1814, 1835, 1838, 1840, 1844, 1847, 1856, 1857, 1862); Muwatta by Malik ibn Anas (copied, 1818, 1845); Sharh by al-Tawudi about ibn `Asim's Tuhfah (copied, 1819),

5. Among the Hadith literature, the following were copied; Sahih by Muslim (copied, 1816, 1833, 1860); Sahih by al-Bukhari (copied, 1817, 1825, 1833, 1844-twice, 1851-twice, one of which was an abridgment); al-Targhib wa al-tarhib by al-Mundhuri (copied, 1813); al-Mijnah al-badiyah (copied, 1818); al-Jami' al-kabir by al-Suyuti (copied, 1818); Sharh Sahih by Ibn Sudah (copied, 1825); Hashiyah `ala al-Jami' al-saghir by al-Suyuti (copied, 1831); Irshad al-sari by al-Qastalani (copied 1831); Manhaj al-'ummal, by al-Muttaqi al-Hindi (copied, 1844).

6. Ibid.

7. J. Robson, "al-Bukhari" in Encyclopaedia of Islam, N.E., vol. 1, pp. 1296-1297.

anywhere else in the Muslim world.

The text of Sahih is believed to have been introduced to Morocco during the 11th century by natives returning from the annual pilgrimages to Mecca and Madinah.[8] But Moroccans did not distinguish themselves in their use of Sahih until the Sa`di period and specifically during the reign of Ahmad al-Mansur (1549-1603). According to Hajji and al-Kattani, who have studied the religious and cultural institutions of the Sa'di era, the Sultan Ahmad al-Mansur was the first to organize groups of Qurra' (reciters) to read chapters from Sahih al-Bukhari in public[9] during crises. He did so to reduce enmity among the public and to entice them to prepare for religious wars (jihad) against the enemies of Islam, namely the Portuguese who were invading the northern part of the country at the time. The same Sultan also initiated a series of public celebrations in various parts of the country like Fez, Marrakesh, Tadlah and Tamagrout. To these celebrations which lasted for thirty days, the Sultan or his governors invited the leading 'Ulama to lecture in public about various aspects of Sahih al-Bukhari. And at the conclusion (i.e., Khatmah) the Sultan as well as his representatives personally attended the celebration and rewarded the participants.[10]

What prompted Sahih to become a permanent religious, social and political phenomenon in Morocco could have been al-Mansur's victory

8. Y. al-Kattani, Madrasat al-imam al-Bukhari fi al-Maghrib, vol. 1, pp. 29-34.
9. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 368-372; vol. 2, pp. 443-453; Muhammad Hajji, al-Harakah al-fikriyah fi al-Maghrib fi `ahd al-Sa`diyyin, vol. 1, p. 123.
10. Ibid.

over the invading Portuguese in response to the prayers of the Qurra. It could also have resulted from the fact that the Sultans forsaw Sahih as a formidable tool to create strong bonds between the authorities on the one hand, and both the religous body as well as the common people, on the other. It is interesting to note that with the exception of Sultan Isma'il (d.1727) who went to the extreme of replacing the Koran with Sahih in homage or oath-taking ceremonies by his army (Abid al-Bukhari),[11] almost every other Sa`di or Alawite Sultan also recognized the utility of Sahih and its enormous implications to them, the 'Ulama and the common people.[12]

To the Sultans, the Sahih celebrations simply signified an open aknowledgement of their authority and legitimacy as descendants of the Prophet, and his inheritors of government. What made this message clear was not only the content of Sahih, which evolved around the Prophet, his thoughts and activities, but also the recitations of popular poems and texts like al-Burdah and and al-Hamziyah by al-Busiri, or Dala'il al-khayrat by al-Jazuli.[13] These examples are basically devotional literature in praise of the Prophet, his family and their enduring qualities which are exhibited as a model for all Muslims to follow.

Aside from the symbolic side of Sahih celebrations, there were also practical implications of these events. The leaders of various communities (the 'Ulama, the notables and a limited number of the public) were systematically invited to attend the celebrations and

11. Y. al-Kattani, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 380.
12. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 375-415.
13. Hajji, op. cit.

participate in its month-long activities. The gathering of leaders was very significant for the authorities as it gave them the chance to be acquainted with each other and even to hand out prizes to 'Ulama or poets who took active roles in the annual celebrations.[14]

During the 19th century, among the four main Sultans (Sulayman; Abd al-Rahman, Muhammad IV and al-Hasan I), both Sulayman and Hasan I distinguished themselves through their direct and more intense involvement with Sahih. Sulayman, unlike other Sultans, became a full-fledged scholar and specialist in Sahih which entitled him to teach and transmit Sahih to willing students. According to Ibn Zaydan in his book al-Durar, Sultan Sulayman was one of the main participants in Sahih celebrations whether in his own majlis (meeting) or in open classes at al-Qarawiyin Mosque in Fez.[15] As for Sultan Hasan I, in addition to his traditional involvement in celebrating Sahih with the 'Ulama and leaders of the country, he distinguished himself from other Sultans by taking with him in his internal campaigns a copy of Sahih in a demonstrative fashion. He provided a specially decorated horse to carry Sahih alongside his own horse, as a symbol of his religious legitimacy and as a reminder of his Sharifian origin.[16]

To the 'Ulama, the text of Sahih meant a variety of things as well. In addition to teaching it and writing commentaries about it, they also gave public lectures on Sahih in front of the Sultan or his representatives during these celebrations. The lectures rotated among

14. Ibid., M. Hajji, al-Zawiyah al-Dila'iyah, pp. 43-47.
15. A. Ibn Zaydan, al-Durar al-fakhirah, p. 74; Y. al-Kattani, op. cit. vol. 1, pp. 385-387.
16. A. Ibn Zaydan, Ithaf, vol. 2, p. 537.

the 'Ulama to cover as many aspects of Sahih as possible, and to allow the thirty or so 'Ulama to participate. This was a golden chance for some to demonstrate their knowledge to achieve fame and possibly high positions as judges or orators of the Friday prayers in large mosques. The historian Ibn Zaydan informs us that during the 19th century the Sultans like 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Hisham (d. 1859) often used the 'Ulama who were specialists in Hadith as advisors.[17]

Among the most distinguished 19th century 'Ulama who were specialists in Sahih were Hamdun ibn al-Hajj (d. 1816); 'Abd al-Qadir ibn Shaqrun (d. 1804) and al-Tayyib ibn Kiran (d. 1812).[18] Also, to the 'Ulama like al-Qadiris, the Iraqis, al-Fasis etc. who also were descendants of the Prophet,[19] the celebration of Sahih was a great opportunity to renew old ties or create new ones with officials or other 'Ulama from various parts of the country.

To the general public, the celebration of Sahih meant a valuable source of entertainment and free food for over a month. The text of Sahih is rich in references to the history of creation, the news of past prophets, the details of paradise and its rewards, and hell and its punishments which await the unbelievers. Also, at the time of the celebration the public came to view from close range their leaders and saints, and scores of notables who generously supplied the celebration with bread and hot meals on a daily basis.[20] In short, the reason

17. Ibn Zaydan, al-Durar al-fakhirah, pp. 79-80.
18. Ibid., p. 78.
19. F. Abdulrazak, Fihrist al-matbu`at al-hajariyah fi al-Maghrib; pp. 156, 161, 164; A. al-Fasi, Mu'jam al-Shuyukh, vol. 1, pp.52-53, 90-91.
20. Hajji, op. cit.

why Sahih was widely recognized and celebrated as the most significant book after the Koran, was its utility and multiple benefits to bright Moroccans and their decision makers. It was for the same reason that Sahih as a book was copied along with its commentaries more than any other text.[21]

The significance of the discussion above about the different utilities of Sahih is to keep in mind a few questions such as whether or not the Sahih tradition, which was one of the major characteristics of the intellectual life in Morocco during the era of the script, will be affected in any way by the proliferation of printing technology in the country. Also, whether or not the abundance of printed books will become a factor in diminishing or altering the mystique of Sahih as well as other sacred texts like the Koran, especially when printers and publishers begin to treat books as just another commodity in the marketplace is another issue to be addresssd.

Islamic Jurisprudence

The second range of topics covered in the books of the period was fiqh (i.e., Islamic jurisprudence) as represented by books like al-Muwatta by Malik ibn Anas and Mukhtasar by Khalil ibn Ishaq. In addition, there were several texts such as the six-volume comprehensive commentary by al-Khurashi about Mukhtasar and Ibn 'Asim's Tuhfah which is about judicial and contract law. Other texts like al-Madkhal by Ibn al-Hajj; al-Qawanin al-fiqhiyah by Ibn Juzayy, and Sharh al-murshid by Mayyarah, were summaries or abridgments of the Malikiyah legal and religious principles in general.

21. See note number 5 above.

With the exception of al-Mudawwanah by Sahnun which seems to have been replaced in popularity by Mukhtasar as the main text of Islamic jurisprudence, nothing else seems to have changed since Ibn Khaldun outlined the major works of Malikiyah and their patterns of expression. This is to say that the format and content of commentaries and abridgments remained intact.[22] Morocco's reliance on the outside world for quality Malikiyah texts remained unchanged. For example, with the exception of Mayyarah of Fez, all the works by Khalil, Khurashi, Ibn 'Asim Ibn Juzayy and even Ibn al-Hajj al-Abdari,[23] were written in Egypt or Andalusia (before it was reclaimed by Spaniards). Just as in the past, what mattered most during 19th century Morocco was not to be progressive, innovative or original. Instead, it was essential to remain faithful to the old principles and patterns according to the Malikiyah Tradition. Therefore, all knowledge and methods of education were designed to serve the supreme goal of remaining traditional.

Let us first study Mukhtasar to see why it came to replace al-Mudawwanah and then try to find out the meaning and significance of Mukhtasar in Morocco, especially in its educational circles where it was regarded as the backbone of Islamic studies.

In preparing Mukhtasar, Khalil summarized al-Baradhu`i's Tahdhib which is, by itself, a summary of al-Mudawwanah and the various early

22. See Chapter Three of this present study.

23. Ibn al-Hajj al-Abdari (d. 1336) was originally from Fez in Morocco where he was born and educated but he immigrated to Egypt where he continued his studies and wrote his famous book, al-Madkhal. See A. Bin AbdAllah, Ma'lamat al-fiqh al-Maliki, p. 63.

commentaries and abridgments about it.[24] So, in a sense, Mukhtasar is a summary of a summary. But, because of Khalil's wider knowledge of varous aspects of Malikiyah principles and his prolonged labor to perfect the book (25 years), he succeeded in condensing almost every aspect of Malikiyah principles.[25]

During the fourteenth century when Mukhtasar was made available to the scholarly public and students, it soon became one of the basic texts of Malikiyah Tradition throughout the Muslim world including Morocco where it became as al-Balghithi put it, "umdat al-madhhab",[26] or the pillar of Malikiyah. The 18th century Moroccan poet and scholar, al-Hilali, who studied and examined Mukhtasar observed that the text included references to one hundred thousand matters (i.e., mas-alah or masa'il) according to their "asl" origin or roots which Khalil touched in his Mukhtasar.[27] What al-Hilali is telling us is that Khalil included almost all aspects of the tradition in his small volume. Although Mukhtasar was small in size, which made it possible to memorize or copy in a short period of time, its proper comprehension and application remained impossible without academic training or the help of specialized scholars or detailed commentaries about the Malikiyah. Therefore the popularity of Mukhtasar was in fact to the benefit of the 'Ulama or those who had access to private or public libraries where comprehensive commentaries were normally available. Accordingly, one can infer that the popularity of Mukhtasar in Moroccan educational

24. Ahmad al-Balghithi, al-Ibtihaj bi-nur al-siraj, vol. 1, pp. 149-150.
25. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 151.
26. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 150.
27. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 151.

circles was not due to the fact that it gave the average literate man access to the laws and regulations of Islam in Morocco. Instead, it was due to the adoption by the 'Ulama of Mukhtasar as the main curriculum in training students as jurists (Fuqaha) or 'Ulama (scholars).

A closer look at how Mukhtasar was taught in Morocco during the 19th century and what students had to learn in order to comprehend it will further our understanding of why this book became such an indispensible tool in educational circles. According to Ahmad al-Balghithi who was one of the products of al-Qarawiyin mosque college in Fez, and one of its leading 'Ulama and poets, "as soon as students were taught the basics about prayers and faith, they were engaged in memorizing Mukhtasar." To facilitiate the process teachers advised students about the best times of the day to memorize, and the best diets which were helpful for quick results.[28] During the process, students attended open classes to listen to their teachers interpreting Mukhtasar line by line through memory or with the help of commentaries. Serious students often carried with them notebooks (i.e. Kunnash or Kannanish) in which they rendered portions of Mukhtasar which they had memorized along with their teachers' comments or dictation (i.e., Taqrirat). Because there were no guidelines as to what should be interpreted, and for how long, teachers were free to use any commentary texts they chose for their courses.

The most common commentary book used by scholars and teachers was

28. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 149-50.

by al-Khurashi.[29] But commentaries both by al-Hattab and al-Zarqani were also used by those who had access to them in private or public libraries. In addition, some of the teachers seemed to have taken extended periods of time in concluding their interpretations of *Mukhtasar*. In *al-Durar al-fakhirah* by Ibn Zaydan, we find a telling statement by Sultan Hisham ibn `Abd al-Rahman that "students learned very little from *Mukhtasar* because of the elaborate comments which left students as ignorant as they were when they started their studies."[30]

However, the basic problems of *Mukhtasar* were not only in the ways it was taught or interpreted, but also in the text itself which required knowlege of the Arabic language and its grammar, rhetoric, poetry, theology, Koranic readings, Hadith, history, etc. to interpret it according to the tradition of Malikiyah. For example, if a scholar attempted to interpret *Mukhtasar* according to the Basrah school of grammar which, like the Mu`tazilah thinkers, puts logic above the grammatical structure of the Koran and its variations in readings (Qira'at), such an interpretation would be rejected on the basis of innovation and abandonment of the Traditional principles which regard Koranic grammar and Koranic readings as divine. Therefore, it is not surprising to see the presence of grammar books like *al-Ajurrumiyah* by Ibn Ajirrum, and *al-Alfiyah* by Ibn Malik which are supportive of such

29. From the general commentaries about *Mukhtasar* which were produced during the 19th century, al-Khurashi's *Sharh `ala mukhtasar Khalil* was the most prefered and used text because it was used at al-Qarawiyin Mosque College.

30. See pages 79-80. Here the Sultan, Abd al-Rahman ibn Hisham also states "that it took ten years by teachers to conclude teaching the text of *Mukhtasar*.

beliefs.[31] It is not surprising to find the total absence of grammar books or philosophical, or intellectual texts which are critical. This is also true of other such as disciplines such as `Aqidah (theology) where we can only find texts like al-Sanusiyah by al-Sanusi, al-Murshid al-Mu`in by Ibn `Ashir, al-Risalah by al-Qayrawani, Sharh Bannani `ala al-sullam by al-Akhdari and Ihya by al-Ghazzali which all remained within the domain of Malikiyah Traditional principles and beliefs in regard to faith in God and his attributed including eternal speech as exemplified by the Koran.[32]

What all this means is that by studying Mukhtasar alone and focussing on it for ten years[33] did not necessarily mean abandoning other Islamic disciplines. In fact, the aim of Islamic education in Morocco was like that of other Muslim countries, to train and produce Fuqaha and 'Ulama to assume a variety of tasks and professions like teachers, scholars, judges, notaries public, leaders of prayers, consultants in various aspects of life. In other words, "the `Alim (scholar) was trained to be like the bazzar, where shoppers or seekers of knowlege, often found everything."[34] Accordingly, it is not surprising to find

31. Ibid. According to Sultan Abd al-Rahman ibn Hisham, it took two years to study the Alfiyah in Morocco. This seems short, as I personally studied the same Alfiyah for four years at Shari`ah College (Baghdad University). Note that during the first half of the 19th century in Morocco the following books in grammar were copied; al-Musa'id `ala tashil al-fawa'id by Ibn Aqil which is a commentary about Ibn Malik's Alfiyah (copied, 1830); Sharh alfiyah by Ibn Malik (scribed 1846); Sharh al-Jurumiyah by Ibn Hisham (copied 1851); and Hashiyah `ala mughni al-labib by Ibn Hisham (copied, 1851) which is also a standard commentary in grammar about the Alfiyah.

32. Ghazzali's Ihya was copied in 1813; and Bannani's Sharh in 1833; while Sanusi's text was copied in 1858.

33. Ibn Zaydan, op. cit.

34. al-Balghithi, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 124-125, 193-194.

the Moroccan 'Ulama during the 19th century equipped in multiple Islamic sciences from linguistics to poetry, grammar, history, medicine, astrology, etc.

Another significant point to emphasize is that most of the other texts which were required or used to complement Mukhtasar were also available in Nazm (i.e., poetry) form. This includes all books mentioned above in grammar and theology, plus other texts like al-ragha`ib by al-Qulsadi, which is in arithmetic but essentially was used to figure out the division of inheritance; Aqd al-yawaqit by al-Wazkani, which is in astrology but was utilized to fix the times of prayers and religious feasts.[35] This also suggests that memorization was an integral part of learning not only Mukhtasar but also the books which complemented it. At the same time, the proliferation of memorization in education is another indication of the 'Ulama's grip over the educational and judiciary systems. So just as the text of Sahih by al-Bukhari was a dominant religious political and social tool in Morocco for the Sultans and the 'Ulama to create stronger bonds between the State and 'Ulama on the one hand and between the 'Ulama and the common people on the other, the text of Mukhtasar by Khalil also enjoyed similar signi-

35. These disciplines were also compiled in one single volume (Majmu`) to facilitate memorization or access to the needed knowledge. One such majmu` included Sughra by al-Sanusi, al-Murshid al-mu`in by Ibn `Ashir, Tuhfat al-hukkam by Ibn `Asim, Lamiyah by al-Zaqqaq, al-Amal al-mutlaq by Abd al-Rahman al-Fasi; al-Amal al-Fasi, by the latter author; Manzamat al-zakat by al-Zayyani; al-Samlaliyah fi al-fara'id, by Ibn Abi Yahya; Nazm by al-Rasmuki; Tuhfat al-muhtaj by al-Marghiti; urjuzah fi aqsam al-iddah by al-Hibti; al-Hamziyah and al-Burdah by al-Busiri; al-Jurumiyah by Ibn Ajirrum; Alfiyah and Lamiyat al-af`al by Ibn Malik; Nazm al-jumal by al-Mijradi, etc. For these and other Majmu' see F. Abdulrazak, Fihris al-matbu'at al-Hajariyah fi al-Maghrib, pp. 82-84.

ficance as a tool between the 'Ulama and students or junior scholars in the educational system. Therefore, here too, it would be interesting to see how this relationship will be affected by the utilization of printing in Morocco, and whether or not the abundance of books will affect in any way the transformation of the oral method of education toward written and printed forms.

Sufism or The Divine Secrets

The third range of topics covered by the books of this period was in the field of Sufism, which was described by the scribe al-Rifa`i as ilm al-haqa`iq wa al-asrar which means the knowledge of truth and the [divine] secrets.[36] To see why Sufism was popular as a topic in Morocco, one needs to examine the zawiyah (religious sanctuary), its significance as a place, its leaders, and the limits of its spiritual power of its followers.

According to the history of Islam and the biographical accounts of various major Sufi leaders like Rabi`ah al-`Adawiyah (d. 801), Junayd (d.920), `Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (d. 1166) and Ibn `Ata (d.1309) among many others,[37] there are two avenues to God. One avenue is through the knowledge of Shari`ah, which means to carry out Islam in accordance with religious regulations which are detailed in various schools of Islamic jurisprudence. The second avenue is through `Ubudiyah (worship) which is the total devotion to spiritual exercise, and Zuhd, seclusion from the material self.

36. See chapter I; the long citation by al-Rifa`i.
37. A. al-Sulami, Tabaqat al-mutasawwifah. This is a biographical dictionary of Sufi leaders in Islam.

Accomplished Sufis, whether they were jurists or spirituals, were called Shaykh or Qutb and they were also recognized as Awliya Allah which meant friends of God.[38] To be recognized as Wali, (sing. of Awliya) implied being in the minds of the people an intermediary between mankind and God. It also meant the ability (whenever God was willing) to perform miraculous happenings in the corporeal world such as predicting the future, interpreting the secrets of the heart, healing the sick, protecting the healthy and communicating with the unseen, namely the jinn who were often cited in the Koran and Islamic books.[39]

It is interesting to learn that the miraculous acts were known as Karamah (i.e., generosity) and not as Mu`jizah (i.e., miracle), because the target of these acts were Muslims who were being served by God's generosity via the Qutb or the Wali, while the target of the Mu`jizah were the unbelievers whom God wanted to convert via his prophets. The Shaykh, therefore, was neither a prophet nor a demonstrative. Instead, he was a private and secluded religious person whose Karamah were kept secret until his students or followers discovered and publicized them.[40] Another point to emphasize is that Karamah were one of the main controversies in Islam between the jurists and the Sufis during the medieval period when jurists or 'Ulama from various schools of Islamic jurisprudence had a dominant role in both the judiciary and

38. Thomas P. Hughes, A Dictionary of Islam, pp. 531, 663.

39. H. al-Tahiri, Tuhfat al-ikhwan bi-shurafa Wazzan, pp. 39, 97, 106, 130, 135, 141, 199.

40. For example, Hamdun al-Tahiri, the author of Tuhfat al-ikhwan (which is a record of the various Karamas by the Wazzani sharifs) collected his information from the head of the Wazzaniyah sanctuary in Fez.

educational systems.[41] However, with the decline of the Abbasid empire and its partition into smaller kingdoms and emirates, Muslims from the 13th century onwards gradually drifted towards spirituality and Sufism. As a result, most of the 'Ulama in the Muslim world were also Sufis or had strong leanings towards Sufism.[42]

In Morocco during the 19th century, the 'Ulama were not much different from their counterparts in the Eastern Muslim World. Most of them were either Sufi leaders or members of one of the numerous _zawiyahs_ which were the main centers of social and spiritual activity in Morocco. This does not mean, however, that all Sufis were 'Ulama in Morocco. Moroccan history is rich with Sufis and saints who were illiterate. This includes the widely worshiped Saint Ibn Abi Ya`azza whose _Karamat_ were regarded as the most popular in the country.[43]

According to Ibrahim Harakat who studied the Sufi orders and Moroccan _zawiyah_ during the last two centuries, "there were over ten major zawiyahs with several branches for each in various regions around the country."[44] Among such _zawiyahs_ were al-Kattaniyah, al-Ma'ayniyah, al-Wazzaniyah, al-Nasiriyah, al-Darqawiyah, al-Tijaniyah, al-Bannaniyah, the `Isawah, etc. al-Kattaniyah which was founded by `Abd al-Kabir al-Kattani during the second half of the 19th century was directed by his 'Ulama sons, Muhammad and Abd al-Hayy, and had several

41. M. al-Miknasi, _al-Kawkab al-as`ad_, p. 5.
42. _Ibid._ Here al-Miknasi wrote "that the [divine] truth without Shari`ah [Islamic law] is Zandaqah [a theism] and [knowing] Shari`ah without the [divine] truth is a theism [as well].
43. A. al-Tadili, _al-Tashawwuf_. This is a biographical dictionary of Sufism in Morocco.
44. I. Harakat, _al-Tayyarat al-siyasiyah wa al-fikriyah fi al-Maghrib._ pp. 56-66.

branches in Fez, Rabat, Tetuan, etc.[45]

What distinguished one Zawiyah from another were three basic things: A) the quality of its leadership in terms of charisma and being recognized as able to deliver services directly or via his karamah (i.e. miracle). Such services included feeding the poor[46] and followers who normally performed work for them,[47] protection from evil, curing ills,[48] and other things like teaching, copying, etc.[49] The most popular Sufi leaders of 19th century Morocco were Ma' al-Aynayn and the Kattanis, as well as the Wazzani Sharifs who all benefited from printing technology and helped to spread it in several significant ways (as we shall see in the upcoming chapter). B) The style of worship which was either simple and composed of a few lines or pages from the Koran or other devotional texts like Dala'il al-khayrat or long and pecular in terms of using chants or body motions in their rituals as was the case with the Kattaniyah order.[50] Judging from the various texts which were produced or reproduced at this period, the most popular texts in Sufism in addition to al-Dala'il were Hizb al-bahr by al-Shadhili, al-Salat by Ibn Mushayyish, and both al-Burdah and al-Hamziyah by al-Busiri. However, many leaders of the Zawiyah also produced their own Hizb, or prayer texts which further distinguished them

45. Ibid., See also Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani, al-Mazahir al-samiyah. A xeroxed copy of the entire manuscript is in my possession.
46. al-Tahiri, op. cit., p. 68.
47. Ibid., p. 93.
48. Ibid.,, pp. 106, 118.
49. Ibid, pp. 140, 198.
50. Abd al-Kabir al-Kattani, Nujum al-muhtadin. This entire text is about how the Kattanis worship and dance.

from each other. C) The third major distinction between zawiyahs was their location. Those zawiyahs which were located in large cultural centers like Fez in particular and Marrakesh, Rabat, etc. in general attracted wealthier members like merchants, craftsmen, etc. than the remote zawiyahs whose members were farmers or common citizens. The zawiyahs in the larger cities had better access to books and thus had their own small collections which were used by the leaders and their followers in their spiritual or educational activities.

What is the most significant aspect of the existing diversity among Sufi orders as well as in their devotional literature is the fact that although many of them like the Qadiriyah, Kattaniyah, etc. were of Sharifian descent and thus blood relatives of the Alawite royal family, they were a prime source of competition for clientale in Morocco, among themselves and with the State. What this means is that unlike the other disciplines, like jurisprudence and Hadith, which provided a unifying force in Morocco's society in the form of fixed texts (i.e., Mukhtasar and Sahih) the field of Sufism provided an open door for change. This is why, as we shall see in chapters 6, 7 and 8 that printing began to proliferate in Morocco when the State and the Sufi orders began to utilize printing to popularize their forms of Islam and religious ideology.

In summary, the existing intellectual and educational systems in Morocco were still following medieval patterns until 1864 when printing was introduced into the country. According to such medieval patterns, religion played the supreme role as the main source of all social values and knowledge. Islam made it clear that its Book

(i.e., the Koran) was God's eternal word. This belief energized the faithful not only to build their cultural and educational systems around it, but also their social values.

The medieval pattern has two other significant characteristics, one, the individuals who took upon themselves the organization of the society were regarded as sacred or holy men, and second these organizers were useful instruments to the State as legitimizers of authority. Based on the accounts of the Mu`tazilah one could argue that it was possible to develop a rational line of thinking in Islamic society, if they were successful against Ahl al-Hadith [or the Traditionalists]. But, since the 13th century and the triumph of the Traditionalists, such a line was marginalized. The bulk of the intellectual energies was directed to Taqlid (imitation) and maintaining religious knowledge through various modes of expression such as Shuruh, Hawashi, etc. This insured not only the continuation of Traditional beliefs but also the status quo and privileges of its leaders as educators, judges, scholars, scribes and holy men who possessed the power to communicate with the unseen, cure the ill, bring prosperity and protection to the believers.

What is most interesting about Sufism and its various leaders in Morocco is that despite their assertion that they were like the Idriside or Alawide Sultans and Sharifian in origin, there was no unifying factor in terms of a book like Sahih or Mukhtasar to symbolize the bond between the Sultans and the 'Ulama on the one hand, and between the 'Ulama and their students on the other. Instead the Sufis used numerous texts collectively or individually within any given region. The

reason for this lack of a unifying symbol or tool was due to the competition among the Sufi orders for a larger clientele which meant legitimacy and increased power. It was through this competition that printing (as we shall see) proliferated.

The difference between today's Morocco and the country a century ago could be recognized in a few major changes which represent Morocco's dramatic departure from its medieval system into modernity. On the educational level the system today, for all practical purposes, is secular in the sense that theology and divine teaching have very little role in deciding what the students at all levels will study. In regard to the printed media, it would be unthinkable not to find books, magazines and newspapers on all subjects in bookshops, newsstands, public and private libraries. On both the political and judicial levels, the country is no longer bound by divine laws, the interpretion of the religious body and even the decision of the Sultan. Instead, the country's internal and external policies are guided by a declared constitution and all the major financial, social and political policies are debated by members of the parliament who represent not only the elite, but also the general public.

Under what circumstances did the Malikiyah forces in Morocco change their attitudes towards their traditional systems in favor of new ones? And what role did printing technology have in setting in motion this transition and change towards modernity? In the upcoming chapters I will examine both the roots of this change during the 19th century and also the various transitions which the utilization of printing brought to the country between 1865 and 1912.

CHAPTER III

PRINTING, ITS INVENTION AND SPREAD TO THE MUSLIM WORLD

Printing is the "art or practice of transferring by pressure, letters, characters or designs upon paper or other impressible surface, usually by means of ink or oily pigment"[1]. The making of an imprint goes back at least to A.D. 175, when it was practiced by the Chinese who had invented paper some seventy-five years earlier[2]

The term printing is often used to include all the various processes that go to make the finished product. There are three entirely different processes: the letter press printing (also known as typography or moveable printing) which was invented by Gutenberg of Germany in the 1440s; the lithographic stone, or chemical printing which was invented by another German, A. Senefelder, in the late 1790's; and finally, copper plate printing which has not been attributed to any individual inventor[3].

In this chapter and thereafter, my description and analysis will be limited to a few specific aspects of the typographical and chemical printing processes. I will address the following questions: why printing became a European phenomenon, what did it mean to set up a printing shop, and finally how did the Muslim countries, namely Turkey, break the religious and psychological barriers to printing to open it up for the rest of the Muslim world, including Morocco. The more we learn about printing technology in Europe, especially the technical

1. Charles Jacobi, "Printing," in Encyclopedia Britanica (11 ed.) p. 350.
2. James Moran, Printing Presses, p. 17.
3. Jacobi, op. cit.

aspects of it, the reasons behind its success, its management and how it was utilized, the more we shall be able to relate it to the Moroccan experience which we shall discuss in detail in the next five chapters.

I. The Invention of Printing in Europe.

When the history of printing is reviewed or studied, it becomes clear that the invention of printing technology was an evolutionary process which began in China and ended in Europe, where it became an integral part of modern society and an indispensable tool of communication. In the Chinese method, blocks of wood were cut in relief and inked with a water-based ink. Paper was laid on the block and gently rubbed with a bambo stick, bone, or dry brush to produce an impression. From China the art of printing spread to other parts of the Orient. Both the Japanese and Koreans during the eighth century printed texts which still survive. By 1041 the Chinese had produced individual relief ideographs made of earthenware. By 1300 the Uigur Turks on the border of Turkestan had cut similar individual characters in wood. The Koreans, from 1300 on, were casting individual relief characters in bronze, probably in sand, from wooden patterns [4]. Around the same period block printing was also in use in various parts of the Muslim world like Egypt, Andalusia and Iran. According to R. Bulliet of Columbia University, there is a good possibility that the Safawides were implementing the mold and matrix techniques in printing centuries before Gutenberg invented his printing technology [5].

4. Moran, *op. cit.*

5. R. Bulliet, "Medieval Arabic Tursh", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 107, No. 3 (July-September, 1987), pp. 427-438.

Why then is printing considered a European invention?[6] To answer such a question one needs to compare the European technology (namely Gutenberg's typographical printing press) with block printing, and look at the way the technologies were received in both the European and Eastern environments. The significance of such a comparison is to underline the basis of the European success at printing and at the same time the reasons for the failure or hesitation of others, including Muslims. What made Gutenberg's invention different from the Chinese or Korean printing techniques could be summed up in four basic points: first Gutenberg created a "forme" which is a frame with rails upon which the letters rested or were manoeuvered by thumb to form words or lines which could be locked when the "forme" was ready for printing[7]. However, the most significant aspect of this invention is how Gutenberg made his letters.

> The key to Gutenberg's invention was the type of mold used for casting the individual letters. Each character had to be on the same plane, parallel in every direction and the exact same height. Gutenberg's two-part type mold which adjusted to accept matrixes for narrow characters [like] (i) as well as wide ones (m) solved the need for casting large volumes of type made to critical tolerances. Type required a metal soft enough to cast but hard enough to hold up for thousands of impressions. It must not expand and contract when it was melted, poured into the type mold, then returned to a solid state as it cooled.
> As a metal smith Gutenberg had learned that antimony would expand when it cooled from a liquid to a solid state in contrast to most metals which contract when cooled. He developed a unique alloy of 80 percent lead, 5 percent tin, and 15 percent antimony to maintain a constant mass throughout the process of manufacturing type. Gutenberg needed as many as fifty thousand single pieces of type in use

6. This question is put forth by Moran, op. cit. but my answers are different especially in reference to printing in the Muslim world.
7. Moran, op. cit. See also Khan, Handbook on Printing, p. 157.

> at a time so the speed, accuracy and economy achieved by this type mold and its casting process were critical. The type was stored in compartmented cases and pulled out letter by letter to set the lines. After a page was printed the type was returned to the compartment, letter by letter. (8)

So, mechanically Gutenberg's new invention was a far cry from the previously known block printing which was rigid, as the letters could not be manoeuvered. Also, the new type was superior in quality, left sharper impressions than the wooden blocks, and lasted longer. Type is useable for the same or different books repeatedly because of its manoeuverability, whereas in block printing new sets have to be engraved for each new book.

Secondly, Gutenberg incorporated in his new method of printing the use of a printing press[9]. The form of the first printing press which did not change in essence for nearly four hundred years,[10] must have resulted from a series of experiments carried out initially by Gutenberg and later by printers who followed him. Basically, the press used in vineyards, paper mills and binderies, consisted of two main uprights with cross pieces at the top and the bottom. Through the top crosspiece there penetrated a turned wooden screw which was encircled by a nut in the form of a collar with a series of holes in its circumfrence. The screw terminated in a flat, pressing board which slid between the uprights.

Pressure was provided by pulling a pole inserted in one of the holes in the collar, causing the screw to move downwards. Increased

8. Phillip Meggs, A History of Graphic Design, p. 77.
9. Moran, op. cit., p. 18.
10. Jacobi, op. cit., p. 351. Also Moran, op. cit., p. 16.

pressure was obtained by moving the pole from one hole to another. Such presses were modified to meet the required pressure for printing.[11] Excessive pressure could damage the paper by leaving deep marks on the surface which could render the back-side of the paper useless for printing.[12] This new procedure was also a sharp departure from the traditional simple method of printing in which bamboo sticks were used for rubbing and thereby producing the desired impression.

The other two differences between Gutenberg's method of printing and the previous ones were in the brand of paper and ink used. In his new invention Gutenberg used the European oil-based ink instead of the Chinese water-based ink. The water-based ink was unsuitable because constant rubbing back and forth produced a smeared impression. The European paper was made from macerated linen and cotton cloth, treated with size to give it a hard, opaque surface. This paper was unlike the thin, soft, pliable and absorbent paper used with water-based ink in Oriental rub-printing. The combination of both European paper and ink was most suitable for Gutenberg's printing method. It allowed him to make a sharp but decisive impression with the type onto the paper.[13] This meant that not only was the casting of type different than in traditional printing, but also the other important ingredients of ink and paper were different than those used in traditional printing. In addition, the Europeans did not need to import any of these essential ingredients to the printing process from outside the continent.

11. Moran, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

12. I have learned this from observing some of the early Bulaq imprints at Harvard College Library in which excessive striking on the paper created deep impressions which came through on the back.

13. Moran, op. cit.

Aside from the technical elements which set Gutenberg's invention apart from the old methods of printing, the most significant reason why printing succeeded in Europe was that the social, political, and educational infrastructure of Europe was more conducive to printing than was the infrastructure of China, Korea or the Muslim world. For example, the 26-character European alphabet which is derived from the Phoenicians, Greeks and Romans posed relatively few problems in casting letters in relief compared with other alphabets, like the Chinese or Korean. In these languages the ideogrames ran into the thousands and would have proved impossible to produce in sufficient numbers to meet the requirements for printing[14].

To make this point clear the Bible which Gutenberg produced took fifty-thousand pieces to print with a 26-character alphabet, whereas the same book would require at least one million pieces of the Chinese or Korean alphabet[15]. Therefore, relying on scribes in the Orient was much easier and cheaper. The Arabic language on the other hand, with its 28-character alphabet, is seemingly not very different from the European alphabet. However, Arabic requires initial, medial and independent letters, plus the Koranic variations, and if the vowels are added, printing the Koran would run into several hundred thousand pieces, which would render the operation of printing more difficult and costly than the simple reliance on scribes, especially if there were no economic or political incentives for the shift.

The third reason behind the success of printing in Europe, versus

14. _Ibid._
15. _Ibid._ See also, Meggs, _op. cit._

the Muslim world could be favorable economic factors and the ability of Europeans to compromise to solve problems in relation to the use of printing technology.

According to George Winship in his book, Gutenberg to Plantin,[16]

> The record of the late 15th century printing in Germany is explained by the economic transformation of the Rhine valley. Increasing numbers of people in the towns worked longer hours at their industries and bought their food instead of raising it. The amount of money in circulation became larger and almost everybody had more of it than previously. People took more holidays and they bought things they had not formerly enjoyed, and more children were sent to schools, and more books were sold.

This economic prosperity in Germany was evident from the personal accounts of Gutenberg, who, after registering his new invention with the local authorities in Mainz, found in Johan Fust a willing capitalist to provide all the funds which the fledgling printing establishment required.

The success of Gutenberg and Fust in producing the first printed book (the Gutenberg Bible) in 1457 arose from the superior quality of the product which could match the best of what the scribes could accomplish at a cheaper price.[17] Yet they still derived a profit which prompted Fust, the merchant, to make his first business trip to Paris to tap new markets.[18] Another indication of Europe's readiness to integrate the new technology into its book trade comes from the startling spread of printing throughout the continent and beyond.

16. pp. 22-32.
17. Meggs, op. cit., pp. 79-80.
18. E. Eisenstein, Printing as an Agent of Change, vol. 1, p. 179.

From 1457, when Gutenberg's Bible was completed, until the 1480s almost every major city in Europe and the new world had its own printers, booksellers, paper merchants, ink distributors and type specialists.[19] However, despite the successful spread of printing in Europe, there were numerous problems and obstacles to be overcome as well. Recognizing some of these obstacles enables us further to appreciate the European success of printing.

In Augsburg, Germany, the guild of wood engravers had a dominating control of local affairs and they feared that the new invention would interfere with their prosperity. (This problem was solved through an agreement to employ engravers in printing establishments.)[20] What made the employment of engravers possible was that the new technology was still not self sufficient, for engravers were needed for illustrations and setting large scripts for title pages and illustrations.

A further reaction to printing came from the religious elements.[21] This is not to suggest that various church men did not benefit from the printing technology. As a matter of fact, printing religious literature was widespread and common as most churchmen were obviously involved in biblical studies and in scribing in monasteries throughout Europe. But when printing was utilized for reasons unacceptable to the Church, there were strong reactions to it. One of many such examples is that of Robert Estienne, who is described by Winship as "a mere lad" when he issued his revised text of the Bible, and printed it in octavo

19. George Winship, _op. cit._, pp. 19-23.
20. _Ibid._, p. 18.
21. _Ibid._, p. 74.

format to sell to the public in 1528,

> "violent protests were at once voiced at the Sorbonne against the audacity of Robert Estienne in issuing his controversial revision of the Holy Write and in printing it in the undignified format of books. Estienne met the challenge by completing his textual examination of the rest of the Bible. The officials of the Sorbonne threatened extreme measures to supress Estienne's activities but the French Crown protected the printer in part perhaps because he was doing the Court circle a real service by distracting the attenion of the theologians from others in high stations whose opinions were tending away from traditional orthodoxy. When the controversy became more annoying in 1534, Francis I issued a preemptory order forbidding all printing. This produced other unexpected trouble for the Parliament refused to register the decree. A revised order forbidding the printing of new books met the same refusal and when the King accepted the situation, the first move had been won in the struggle for freedom of the press. It was a very limited freedom according to modern ideas but of fundamental importance as recognizing a principle." (22)

What this citation tells us is that Europeans, whether they were church men or common individuals like Estienne or politicians, found in printing a useful tool to serve their various purposes. Such diverse and widespread usage contributed further towards the integration of printing in the European economy.

Another obstacle to printing in its early years came from the miscalculations of the printers themselves in assessing the nature of the market and the book buyers.

> "Florence was at first unfriendly to the earlier printers, for the wealthy merchants who set the fashions for the citizens preferred the beautifully illuminated manuscripts for which they were well able to pay. An effort was made to meet their desire for books that cost more than others could afford by issuing books with illustrations from copper engravings instead of the common woodcuts."(23)

22. Ibid.
23. Ibid., p. 53.

Another interesting and relevant example of misjudging the market by printers or publishers came about in the 1530s when an Italian printer by the name of Alessandro e Paganino de Paganini, from Venice undertook to produce a printed copy of the Koran. Since 1469 Venice had been a major center for the book trade and by the turn of the sixteenth century, Venice produced printed books in non-European languages such as Hebrew, for export to the various Jewish communities in North Africa and the Muslim World.[24] Alessandro e Paganino de Paganini perhaps was dreaming of building a fortune by printing the Koran to tap the Muslim markets around the Mediterranean Sea.

According to a recent essay, "Il Corano Arabo Ritrovato" by Angela Nuovo "because of the well-known hatred of Islam for the printing press, the edition was a failure and this brought an end to the publishing career of Alessandro Paganino."[25]

However, if the five sample pages introduced by Nuovo were indeed from Alessandro's Koran, then the main reason for Alessandro's failure could be attributed to several factors rather than "Islam's well-known hatred for printing."[26] Such factors include the existence of numerous errors in spelling and a total disregard to the Islamic tradition of copying the Koran according to Mushaf 'Uthman (i.e., the Koran of the Caliph 'Uthman). Among the errors in Alessandro's Koran in the five short lines of _Surat al-Fatihah_ alone is the letter _dal_ written as _dhal_; the use of wrong vowels such as _fathah_ instead of _kasrah_ or

24. Eisenstein, _op. cit.,_ vol. 1, p. 447. Also Winship, _op. cit.,_ pp. 31, 37.
25. See _La Bibliofilia_, vol. LXXXIX, no. 3 (1987), p. 271.
26. _Ibid._

sukun; and copying words like al-'Alamin and Malik with a long alif while the traditional script disregards the long alif in both words above.[27]

Accordingly, it is certain that such errors which are very likely repeated throughout Alessandro's Koran, had not only a direct bearing on the publisher's failure, but also might have soured Muslims' attitudes further about printing. This is perhaps why the celebrated Lebanese Christian author and priest, Louis Cheikho, attributes Islam's long-standing rejection of printing to the fear that printers might commit errors and thus distort the Koran.[28]

There is one more significant observation to be made about Alessandro's Koran aside from its textual problems. The text seems to have been printed in block print instead of moveable type, and in wood rather than copper. This is clear from the occasional blur or fuzz in the ink which resulted from chips of wood which were broken during the process of ingraving the script. If this is true then it suggests two things: first, Alessandro's intention was to distribute his Koran among the common people in the Muslim world for an affordable price in the same manner as European printers produced what is known as the "poor man's bible" with an apparently undignified format. Second, Alessandro's choice of block printing was based on economic factors as printing the Koran with moveable type would have meant producing a massive number of pieces at a higher cost. Also, what this meant is

27. Ibid., p. 239. The same is true about the rest of the examples on pages 243, 245, 247, 251.
28. See "Tarikh fann al-tiba`ah fi al-Mashriq" in al-Mashriq, vol. 3, no. 2 (1900), pp. 78-85.

that European printers were not yet ready to develop types for Arabic language[29].

In short, what made printing a European phenomenon was not only the fact that a European (Gutenberg) invented the new technology, but also other important elements such as a suitable alphabet and conducive economic conditions for printing to take hold. Printing helped to create jobs and open new markets. Printing also made affordable books available to a larger number of people in a short period of time. However, for printing to be adopted in the Muslim world and in Morocco, the problems of the Arabic alphabet needed to be overcome and an agreement needed to be struck with the scribes and the 'Ulama in general who might be affected by the shift from script to the printed word. Also, to insure the continuity of printing and its success, it had to be integrated into the economic system and utilized in all the institutions which relied on books, whether educational, cultural or scholarly. Accordingly, one of the important questions which will be answered in the coming chapters, is how well Moroccans did in creating a healthy environment for printing technology.

29. In addition to examining the samples from Alessandro's Koran under a magnifying glass, I have tried to match the size or shape of its letters, the absence of ligatures which all also suggest the use of wood and engravings in printing his Koran instead of moveable type metallic letters. Furthermore, no one so far has found elsewhere the same type as in Alessandro's Koran, which also indicates that they were done for one use only. The implication of this observation is great to the history of Arabic printing in Europe, especially in the 1514 Fano edition of the "book of hours" which is considered the first Arabic book to be printed via the moveable type. If one compares "the book of hours" with Alessandro's Koran, it becomes clear that both texts share the same errors in vocalization of the text, the occasional blur as a result of the wood chips, etc. So here too, if these observations are correct, then no one yet knows when exactly the first Arabic book was published in Europe by means of moveable type printing.

II. The Management of a Printing Shop

The purpose of studying the managerial aspects of printing technology here is to understand the skills needed to make printing a success. Since such skills were known in Morocco, learning them here will assist us in understanding the changes which printing technology brought to the country and how Moroccans would adapt themselves and their resources to accommodate this new technology. The term manage or management means to handle, to train, to carry on successfully or otherwise to take charge and to treat with indulgence or consideration.[30] Here our discussion is limited to the definition of management in terms of organization, namely the manpower which is required to operate a printing shop and the skills required to carry on a printing operation.

During the 19th century when printing was first introduced to Morocco, an average printing shop consisted of ten to fifteen people including the manager, his deputies, the overseer of the case room (or the printer), the compositor; the proofreader, the binder, the accountant and several workmen or assistants to carry on miscellaneous duties around the shop.

When manuscripts were submitted for printing and an agreement between the management and the author or editor were reached, the manuscripts were passed down via deputy offices to the printer who in turn regulated the amount of pages to be set in type by compositors. From compositors the manuscripts then moved on to the proof readers who, with the help of reading boys, made sure that the manuscripts and set copies were the same. When all was in order, books were bound and the

30. The Oxford Universal Dictionary, item, "manage."

final cost analyses were set by the accountants.[31]

However, regardless of the size of the staff in any printing shop, or the number of machines utilized, the most important element in the whole process was the printer and to a certain extent the proof reader, because the main work was executed by them alone. The success or failure of the entire operation in terms of accuracy and quality of printing rested upon their shoulders.

In a moveable type printing operation, what counts most is the ability of the printer to mould type and produce all kinds of type pieces to insure a good quality printing job. In big printing centers, obtaining different type faces, ink and paper would be feasible economically if the printing shop were located near suppliers and type manufacturers. But for those printers in distant lands such as Turkey, Egypt and Morocco the knowledge of how to prepare or make the type or ink etc. was essential to save time, to reduce costs to the middle men and to meet the local tastes in choosing certain types above others.[32]

In lithographic printing the skill of the printers is more crucial to the outcome of the printing operation than in typographical printing. Because obtaining the elements such as stones, ink, transfer paper, etc.necessary for printing is not sufficient. Precise knowledge of how to use each element is also essential for the success of the operation. To make this point clear a brief description of the

31. Jacobi, op. cit., pp. 358-359.

32. In Kh. Sabat's book, Tarikh al-tiba`ah fi al-Sharq, pp. 148-158, we find the Egyptian government having great difficulties in 1810 in finding suitable individuals to learn moulding type(s). Students were sent to Italy to learn moulding for four years and yet the results were not satisfactory in producing durable and asthetically acceptable types.

lithographic printing process is necessary.

> "The process of drawing or laying down a design or transfer on a specially prepared stone or other suitable surface like marble, is done in such a way that impressions may be taken therefrom. The principle on which lithography is based is the antagonism of grease and water. A chemically pure surface will have been secured on some substance that has an equal affinity for both grease and water. The parts intended to print are covered with an unctuous composition and the rest of the surface is moistened so that when a greasy roller is applied, the portion that is wet resists the grease and that in which an affinity for grease has been set up readily accepts it; and from the surface thus treated...an impression on paper or other material is secured by applying suitable pressure normally by a printing press." (33)

The basic elements which go into making a lithographic printing are the stones, the ink, the chalk, the transfer paper, the press and about thirty tools of various sizes. The stones, known as lithographic stones, are calcareous slate with the ability to absorb moisture and grease with equal power. The best quality stones are found in Bavaria, Germany, the homeland of the inventor. They are also found in various parts of Europe like Spain and France. The stones are mined and sold in large size. They need to be cut to an ideal thickness of 2 and 1/2 inches for book size printing. The folio size requires the thickness of 3-5 inches which means that printers need to treat the stones until they reach the thickness needed. Also, both sides of the stones need to be smoothed down so that not even a single particle or grain of sand remains on the surface. Such grains would render the final product unprofessional with black lines appearing across the printed page.

Lithographic ink is a compound of wax, dry white soap, tallow or lard, shellac, and lampblack. When it is not prepared well, it has no

33. F.V. Brooks, "Lithography" in Encyclopedia Britanica, p. 7885.

tenacity. Sometimes after dissolving it in water the ink becomes thick and slimy requiring treatment before it can be used. The ingredients need to be mixed and burnt sufficiently so that the mixture will not turn into a soft liquid which attaches itself to the fingers or become full of bubbles because it has been cast too hot on a marble slab.

Another significant aspect of lithographic ink is its application with rollers. Skilled appplication is only learned through experience and experimentation. The casual application of the ink rollers will result in uneven impressions in relation to lightness or darkness of the printed page.

The third ingredient which goes into lithographic printing is the lithographic chalk which is similar to a pencil. Here again, when the chalk is not well prepared, the writing on stone with such chalk will not leave enough ink distributed evenly throughout the page to produce a high quality final product. The end result will be blank lines because the uneven areas were not elevated to the same 1-120th of an inch on the surface of the lithographic stone, and therefore could not absorb enough ink.

The fourth part of the lithographic printing process is the transfer paper. The necessity of reversing both writing and drawing on stone made the use of transfer paper indispensable to all those who were not in the habit of writing in reverse. The transfer paper must unite two qualities: first, it must be as good to write upon as common paper; second, the writing must leave no traces behind the paper when it is transferred to the stone. To transfer the writing from the paper to the stone it is sufficient to wet the paper and rub it gently until

the impression is settled on the stone.

The fifth major component of lithography is the press which is not very different from the press used in typography. Some of the presses were wooden and about six feet in height. The modern ones are made of metal and run by power instead of by hand.

What all of this suggests is that the managers of lithographic shops needed to know a series of complicated applications without which the business would not succeed. Having such factors in mind, the early printers like Raucourt and Senefelder provided the user with a guide to manage the one hundred different applications and to handle expected problems along with their solutions. With such a guide, printers needed at least a year of experience to master lithographic printing and without it students would remain at the mercy of experts in the field.

In addition to the technical know how, printers and managers needed to know that the lithographic process was best suited for relatively small jobs running to a maximum of two to three thousand copies while typography was suited for much larger tasks running into over ten thousand copies. Lithography was also best suited for producing artwork, maps, musical notes, postcards, educationl material, posters, and invoices. Lithography also had the natural capacity to preserve 'signatures' or script thus making it best suited for those who would like to preserve the traditional script instead of changing or standardizing it through typography.[34]

34. Antoine Raucourt, A Manual of Lithography pp. xi, 3-6, 9-10. Also T. Hansard, Typographia, pp. 891-893, 901, 908-909. Both texts include illustrations of the tools utilized in lithograhic printing.

In short, what all the above would mean to Moroccans is that they would have to change in terms of learning new modern skills and in terms of putting together a variety of experts, printers, compositors, binders, distributors in order to yield positive results in their printing operation. All of this should guide us for a better and proper understanding of how Moroccans managed printing.

CHAPTER IV

PRINTING IN THE MUSLIM WORLD; THE CASE OF ISTANBUL

Studying the introduction of printing technology to Istanbul seems at first to be irrelevant to Morocco, but in reality the Ottoman experience at printing technology is very important to an understanding of the history of printing, not only in Morocco, but also in the Muslim world in general. The Ottoman Empire, the largest and most powerful Muslim state, became the first one to adopt printing. To do that a consensus (*ijma'*) of the 'Ulama was needed. Since no objections were voiced in Istanbul against the use of printing, the decision automatically became a regulation for all Muslims in the Empire. This decision was significant because the Ottoman subjects belonged not only to the Hanafiyah School of law but also to schools like the Malikiyah, the Shafi'ah and the Hanbaliyah, among other schools.[1] Thus, the process of decision making and the arguments put forth to support the use of printing in the Ottoman Empire are useful in analyzing the Moroccan approach to the issue of whether or not to adopt the new printing technology.

Since the transformation of the Caliphate from Abbasid to Ottoman hands, the Ottomans sought to extend their sovereignty over Morocco as well. At various points in history they attempted, through force, to achieve this aim without success[2]. However, by the turn of the Twentieth Century, when foreign competition to bring Morocco to the

1. M. Bernand, "Idjma" in *Encyclopedia of Islam* new edition, pp. 1023-1026.
2. Donald Pitcher, *An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire,* pp. 107-109.

fold was at its peak, the Ottomans tried again to expand their influence into Morocco through the local 'Ulama, and interestingly enough, through the introduction of Morocco's first moveable-type printing machine in Fez in 1906.[3] Accordingly, it is important to see how the Ottomans set the precedent for the Muslim World, including Morocco.

The introduction of printing in Turkey goes back to the very early years of the 16th century when David Nahmias, an exiled Jew from Spain, is believed to have opened his printing office in Istanbul and printed his first book in 1503. Between 1503 and 1593, the Jewish printers such as the renowned Gerson and the Ya'abez families managed to print some one hundred titles for the estimated 30,000 members of the Jewish community in the Ottoman Capital[4].

One interesting aspect of the history of printing in Turkey is that Sultan Bayazid II (1481-1512) and those who followed him to power for at least two centuries prohibited their Muslim subjects from using printing, while allowing all their non-Muslim subjects such as the Jews and Christians to produce or print books in Hebrew, Latin or Armenian[5].

Another interesting occurrence was Sultan Murad's decree of 1588 which allowed Europeans to distribute their merchandise including printed books of a scientific nature, in Arabic, Persian and Turkish in the Ottoman Empire thus covering most of the Muslim world as well as

3. For more details on this see, Chapters VI and VII of this thesis.

4. Jeno Zsoldos, 'Istanbul" in Encyclopaedia Judaica 1971 edition, pp. 1098-1099.

5. Khalil Sabat, Tarikh al-tiba'ah fi al-sharq, pp. 23-24.

important segments of Christian Europe between Vienna and Istanbul[6]

Due to the lack of any explanation for the Ottoman directives regarding the 1494 prohibition of printing for Muslims or any assessment of the Muslims' reactions to printing, most historians such as Carter, Kinross, Sabat, etc. assumed that the anti-printing attitude among the Turks and Muslims in general, was due to "reactionary forces, the 'Ulama, as well as to the sultans who feared that an awakening would be caused by the use of printing, which would threaten their authority."[7]

Although Islam, especially its holy book, the Koran, its educational system and the Arabic language, could create serious obstacles to printing, one should still ask whether the Ottoman Turks initially rejected the use of printing for Muslims on religious grounds. To answer this question it is important to ask two other questions of the history of printing which have not been properly analyzed to date; namely, how the Europeans utilized printing since its invention in their relations with the Muslim world, especially the Turks, and how the 'Ulama dealt with the use of printing among Muslims when it became a reality.

According to Eisenstein in her widely known book, _The Printing Press as an Agent of Change_,[8]

6. Sultan Murad's decree of 1588 is printed at the end of Euclid's _Elements_, the Rome, 1594 edition, obviously to facilitiate the distribution of this book in the Ottoman Empire and other Muslim countries.

7. Sabat, _Ibid_. See also Thomas Francis Carter, _Printing in China_, the chapter "Islam as obstacle to printing," also Lord Kinross, _The Ottoman Centuries_, p. 381.

8. Vol. 1, p. 30.

"The Reformation was the first religious movement, it has been said, which had the aid of the printing press. Even before Luther, however, Western Christendom had already called on printers to help the crusade against the Turks. Church officials had already hailed the new technology as a gift from God - as a providential invention which proved Western superiority over ignoraant infidel forces."

What Eisenstein is probably referring to is the 1454 "Letters of Indulgence" which were printed in Mainz, Germany, three years before the Gutenberg Bible was printed. These "letters" which were issued by Pope Nicholas V were a declaration of pardon of sins to all Christians who had given money to support the war against the Turks. It has been said that seven editions in two styles were issued for distribution among the faithful in Europe.[9]

The use of printing against the Turks was not limited to the Pope. In the 1470s a non-commercial press at the Sorbonne printed The Orations of Cardinal Bessario. This book, a copy of which still survives at the Bibliothéque Nationale in Paris was "an appeal by its author for universal peace among the Christian nations, in order that they might unite in opposing the advances of the "Mussulman power." A copy of this book richly illuminated and accompanied by a printed personal letter urging the case for which it was issued, was sent to each European ruler and to many influential dignitaries."[10]

In addition, European commercial printers might also have inadvertently alienated Muslims against printing. In 1694 a printing establishment in Hamburg seems not to have learned any lesson from Alessandro's failure when it produced multiple copies of the Koran

9. Philip Meggs, A History of Graphic Design, pp. 79-80.
10. George Winship, Gutenberg to Plantin, p. 39.

which carried not only an erroneous title, but also an offending statement about the Islamic faith. The title page of Hamburg's 1694 edition of the Koran read: al-Qur'an shari'at al-Islamiyah Muhammad ibn Abd Allah.[11] This title should have been: al-Qur'an: shari'at al-Islam (i.e., the Koran: The Law of Islam) without the authorship statement, because to Muslims, the Prophet, Muhammad ibn Abd Allah, did not write the Koran. Instead, it was God's eternal words and his miracle revealed through his messenger, Muhammad, the Prophet.

Accordingly one might assume that the Ottomans were aware of the shortcomings of printers and the fact that printing technology could be used to distort facts or beliefs. Therefore they objected to its utilization among the Muslims. However, such assumptions are not convincing because they depicted the Turks as rigid and unintelligent at a time when they were at the zenith of their power. If in fact they had needed printing they would have purchased it for their own use.

When printing was first put to use in the 1450s Sultan Muhammad al-Fatih was at the helm of the Ottoman Empire. This Sultan had a unique taste for Western artifacts and talents. He was the first head of a Muslim government to employ Christian-Greek architects to design a grand Mosque in Istanbul which is now known as the Mosque of Muhammad al-Fatih. Also, this Sultan was the first Muslim Sultan to break away openly from the Islamic tradition of making images, when he hired an Italian artist to make his own portrait. When the Ragusa Republic of Venice made peace with the Ottomans, Sultan Muhammad specified that the

11. Wahid Gdoura, Le début de l'imprimerie arabe à l'Istanbul, p. 269. "Facsimile of the title page is provided."

Jizyah (protection tax levied on non-Muslims, especially Christians and Jews) should be in the form of artifacts and manuscripts which were probably in Greek and Latin.[12] Given his big appetite for Western artifacts it seems reasonable that if he had wanted or needed printing he would have purchased the machine, hired the people necessary to run it and used it as a propaganda tool for himself, or against Europeans.

Therefore, one could suggest, on the contrary, that it was the religion of Islam and the way its 'Ulama preserved the Koran as God's miracle and built both Islamic education and scholarship based on it which prevented the Ottomans initially from using printing technology. This is especially the case since printing was invented in Christendom and was to be applied to Islamic texts at a point in history when Muslims, exemplified by the Ottoman Empire, had clear superiority over Europeans who were in the early stages of their awakening and their march towards modernity and subsequent power.

Such Muslim superiority would soon take another course of gradual and steady decline in the face of Europe's emergence as a technological power. From this imbalance of power, a new trend of thinking among Muslims would emerge, and as the European threat to the Muslim world became more real, the trend became a pattern through which Muslim officials and the 'Ulama borrowed European ideas and technologies including printing.

From the 17th century, which was the beginning of the steady decline and disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, the Turks,

12. Mustafa Mu'min, Qasamat al-`Alam al-Islami, pp. 33-35.

specifically a select group of individuals from the government and the 'Ulama, began to realize this imbalance between their Empire and the European states.[13] They called for reform using the same elements upon which their European rivals had built their success in science and technology. To make this point clear we need to provide some details about how the Ottoman Turks opened up to Europe and what kind of arguments they utilized to achieve the intended reforms.

During the 17th century among all the Ottoman officials and 'Ulama there was one scholar who could clearly recognize the Ottoman imbalances and had the vision to call his countrymen to learn from European ideas and technology. He was Haji Khalifah, who was also known as Katib Celebi. Because Celebi was a pioneer thinker and both his works and activities would become vivid examples of the future in terms of reform and orientation, it is important to take a look at his biography to see why and how Celebi distinguished himself apart from his contemporaries.

Celebi was born in Istanbul in 1609 and like most of the children who were born to well-to-do families, his father hired a tutor to teach him the alphabet, writing, the Koran and both Arabic and Turkish grammar. He began this study at the age of five or six. Being the head of the government's finance department, Celebi's father seems to have employed his son as a clerk (katib) at the age of fourteen. In this office he was trained as an accountant. However, in less than a year, Celebi accompanied his father on various campaigns with the Turkish

13. Bernard Lewis, "Ottoman Observers of Ottoman Decline" in Islamic Studies, vol. 1, no. 1 (March 1962) pp. 71-87.

army to such Ottoman provinces as Iran, Qaysariyah and Iraq. He witnesed the enormous difficulties which the Ottoman subjects were suffering, such as famine, high inflation and the burden of oppressive taxation. He also lost his father on such a campaign. All of these early impressions appear later in his writings as examples of the disorder created by the Ottoman system of government.

On his return to Istanbul in 1628, Celebi attended the open classes of Qadizadah who taught theology, jurisprudence and Koranic commentary at the Mosque of Muhammad al-Fatih.[14] Celebi's total devotion to studying and writing did not come until 1645, only a few years after he inherited a large sum of money.[15] This inheritance apparently gave him the freedom to study and write about topics of great interest to him.

Celebi is unique in that although he received the same traditional Islamic education, he decided to follow another path of knowledge and scholarship, unlike his contemporaries. He began showing a strong interest in European history, geography, exploration, economics, gardening, literature (Belle Lettres), and ideas of reform.[16]

The reason why Celebi departed from the traditional line of Islamic studies could be attributed to several factors which might have shaped his thinking. First, Celebi was deeply disappointed in the lack of aid from his superiors for advancing his career as a government

14. Katib Celebi, Kashf al-zunun vol. 1, pp. 13-18. These pages include Celebi's autobiography translated into Arabic from the Turkish manuscript by Muhammad Sharaf al-Din Yaltaqiya, the editor of Kashf al-zunun, above.

15. Orhan Saik Gokyay, "Katib Celebi" in Encyclopedia of Islam, new edition(N.E.),pp. 760-762. See also Celebi, op. cit. p. 15.

16. Ibid.

clerk.[17] Therefore, he abandoned government service as soon as he could support himself and his deeper interests. Second, Celebi showed strong indications that he was also disappointed with the direction of scholarship in Istanbul and felt that the Ottoman Empire was intellectually outmoded. This disappointment was evident in three things which he did or didn't do. 1) He did not complete his book of commentary on the Koran which remains incomplete. 2) He compiled a collection of rather unique Fatwas (religious judgments) by various 'Ulama. This book has been declared lost, which is because of the critical nature of its address to the 'Ulama. 3) In his lexicon, Kashf al-zunun, when citing the seven medieval rationales for writing or composing books, Celebi deliberately replaced the first reason of 'extraction' with the term, 'invention'[18] as if to say that Muslim 'Ulama had enough with extracting the meanings of the Koran and other Islamic texts. Instead, they should be concerned most with the sciences and with inventions.

Despite Celebi's disappointment with the government and traditional Islamic studies, he was basically a good citizen who was concerned with the future of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, he presented himself through his writing as an example of what the ideal scholar should be. In his essay, Dustur al-`amal li-islah al-khalal (The Principles of Restoring the Imbalance,) Celebi diagnoses the following imbalance:

17. Ibid.

18. Celebi, op. cit. p. 35. The seven rationales for writing, as Celebi put it, were: 1) to invent something new; 2) to finish the incomplete; 3) to clarify the obscure; 4) to summarize without losing the meaning of the original; 5) to compile the scattered; 6) to organize the mixed; 7) to correct the errors of authors.

> "at this state of the union, there are few funds in the Treasury, and too large expenditures for the big [Ottoman] army at a time when [Ottoman] citizens are weak [too weak to pay extra taxes]." (19)

Celebi's prescription for a remedy is loud and clear.

> "There [will be] no state [or kingdom] without men [ie., good soldiers]; no men without swords [good armaments]; no swords without wealth; no wealth without [able] citizens, and no citizens without justice."(20)

Although Celebi stopped short of calling for restructuring Islamic education by shifting its focus from theological and Koranic studies to scientific and secular topics, he proceeded to provide his readers with other books in which he described the European states, their history, and how they once were weak and then rose to strength and power. Furthermore, he stressed the significance of geography and explorations and the use of scientific maps and charts for navigation, just as the Europeans of his time were doing.[21]

For Celebi to know that much about Europe and Europeans, he had to have a good understanding of Latin or French or another Western language. Instead of learning any Western language, Celebi is believed to have relied heavily on the assistance of an ex-French clergyman who had converted to Islam and lived in Istanbul under the name of Muhammad Ikhlasi. Among the books which Ikhlasi helped to render into Turkish for Celebi were _The Atlas of Minor_ and the 1548 Paris edition of Johann Carion's _Chronicle._[22] It is not clear whether Celebi acquired his

19. pp. 7, 20.
20. Celebi, _Islah al-khalal_ p. 3. This is a wise ancedote which is common in medieval literature.
21. Gokyay, _op. cit._ p. 762.
22. _Ibid._

renaissance-like interests and ideas from Ikhlasi, but such a possibility is very real as there is no other explanation for Katib Celebi's striking departure from the traditional line of Islamic culture and education. If this supposition is true, then Celebi was indeed among the very first Muslim scholars to look to Europe for ideas for reform. It was from this avenue that the future Muslim reformers would appeal to their governments and the public to acquire the technology of printing.

The real appeal to Muslims in obtaining printing machines from the West did not actually start until the 1720s when the Ottoman Grand Wazir, Ibrahim Pasha, sent a special envoy named Chelebi Mehmed to the Court of Loius XV. His mission was to forge a political alliance with France. He was also instructed to visit works of French civilization, namely fortresses and factories and whatever was applicable to the Ottoman Empire. The consequences of Mehmed's visit to France was a diary which served as a manual for future changes in Turkey.[23]

> "Mehmed, accompanied by his son, Said, was one of the first Turks to learn the French language. He wrote of Paris as one discovering a new world and fascinated by its novelties - its technical and medical arts, its zoological and botanical gardens, its operas and theaters, and above all, the sophistication of its social habits. He looked with astonishment and admiration upon the women 'who enjoy higher status than men and are free to go anywhere they wish'. He showed special interest in the Paris Observatory and in the zodiacal tables of Uluj Bey, the fifteenth century astronomer and prince of Samarkand. He met Saint-Simon, and wrote of his grand manner and his taste and his charm with the ladies, approving also of his intention to establish a printing press back in Constantinople." (24)

23. Kinross, _op. cit._ pp. 380-381.
24. _Ibid._

The introduction of printing in Turkey was mainly the work of Mehmed's son, Said, who later became the Grand Vazir of the Ottoman Empire. In his petition to establish the printing press, Said wrote to the Sultan, in the same pattern as Celebi had done the previous century: "why do Christian nations, which were so weak in the past compared with Muslim nations, begin to dominate so many lands in modern times and even defeat the once victorious Ottoman armies?"[25] Giving the answers he urged that 'Moslems should awaken from the slumber of heedlessness." "Let them be informed of the conditions of their enemies. Let them act with foresight and become intimately acquainted with new European methods, organization, strategy tactics, the study of geography: also the sciences of navigation by naval charts such as had led the Christians to the discovery of the New World and to the conquest of Moslem land."[26]

In 1725 or 6 Said was given permission in the form of a royal decree from the Sultan, appendixed with the approval of the Grand Mufti of the Ottoman Empire, AbdAllah Efendi, to take the necessary steps to set up a printing shop. Soon such a shop was created and its management was delegated to the Hungarian, Ibrahim Muteferrika, who made his own residence in Istanbul the center of his printing activities.[27]

The most interesting aspect of this royal decree and the approval of the Grand Mufti was that it continued to limit the books to be printed to non-Islamic texts, eliminating the Koran, Hadith,

25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Niyazi Berkes, "Ibrahim Muteferrika" in Encyclopaedia of Islam, N.E., pp.996-998.

Jurisprudence and even books of Kalam,[28] because such books dealt with Islamic theology and divinity. This meant that the Ottomans still did not want a Christian machine used on the sacred books of Islam, since such an application would disturb the traditional nature of book production which was closely tied to the 'Ulama and the Islamic educational system.[29]

What makes this even more evident is the fact that the management of the newly purchased printing machine from Paris was handed to Muteferrika, an ex-Christian. Not being an expert, he hired a Jew from one of the Hebrew printing shops in Istanbul, along with French compositors or typesetters, who were brought from Europe to run the Press.[30] Furthermore, between 1728, when the first book was printed under the supervision of Muteferrika, and 1745, when Muteferrika died, not even one Muslim printer seems to have been trained to insure the continuity of the printing operation. Therefore, the press came to a sudden halt with the death of its manager.

The establishment of the printing press in Istanbul was either a personal favor to appease reformers like Celebi Mehmed and Muteferrika, who were close associates of the Grand Vazir and the Ottoman Sultan, or the real intention was, to cause reform without trying to interrupt

28. The text of the Grand Mufti's Fatwa (religious opinion) about what should and what should not be printed is published in Muteferrika's first production, which is Jawhari's al-Sihah.

29. Berkes op. cit. Also, there is a common belief that when printing was allowed in Istanbul in the 1720s, the scribes demonstrated against the event by carrying on their shoulders an empty casket with a manuscript in it, expressing their fear that the implementation of printing would result in the extermination of their profession.

30. David Partington, "Arabic Printing" Encyclopaedia of Library and Information Science, vol. 24, p. 60.

the traditional method of producing books. Regardless of the motives, the printing machine and whatever books it produced remained on the fringes of the Ottoman educational system, since the main stream of book production in Istanbul involved Islamic books.[31]

However, Muteferrika's efforts were not totally fruitless as he intelligently solicited from the leading 'Ulama and judges of his time some sixteen letters in praise of printing technology as well as the royal decree and the _Fatwa_ permitting its use. In addition, Muteferrika wrote a very interesting essay known as _Wasilat al-tiba'ah_ (i.e. the Agent of printing) which he printed in the first book of the Istanbul printing press along with the letters and permit, just to make sure that the public and the remaining 'Ulama would realize that what he was doing was legal and there were definite and positive results which could be gained from the utilization of printing technology.[32]

For about forty years the Ottoman Turks neglected printing technology, but its benefits, as Muteferrika outlined, were not forgotten. Sultan Salem III revived printing in the 1780s as part of his energetic movement which focussed on reforming the army and the Empire's financial affairs. He continued on the previous path of excluding Islamic texts from being printed, but this time Muslim printers like 'Abd al-Rahim Efendi were trained to cast the needed type.[33] This brought the new technology one step closer to the hearts of Muslims. However, the actual acceptance of printing did not occur until the turn

31. For the impact of printing on the cultural life of Istanbul at this period see Wahid Gdoura's _Le début de l'imprimerie Arabe à l'Istanbul._

32. Berkes, _op. cit._

33. Kinross, _op. cit._, p. 420. Also Sabat, _op. cit._, p. 27.

of the 19th century when the 'Ulama began to realize the enormous implications of printing to both the educational and scholarly world in which they prospered.[34]

To illustrate and to mark the early stages of the shift to the printed word in the production of Islamic texts there is no better example than the Ottoman religious scholar, Muhammad Haqqi's,[35] ten-point commentary in praise of printing, which is believed to have been written in 1839. Haqqi's comments, as we shall see, were nothing but an abbreviated form of Muteferrika's essay "Wasilat al-tiba'ah". But, there remain basic and significant differences between the way both men presented their case in defense of printing.

Below, I will cite Haqqi's ten comments and compare them with those of Muteferrika. The purpose of such a comparison is to highlight the main reasons which prompted the 'Ulama to accept the shift from script to the printed word and to show that printing was used as an agent by reformers like Muteferrika to initiate change, and by traditional scholars like Haqqi to maintain the status quo while trying to revive Islam according to traditional lines. These points are relevant

34. It is not clear exactly when the 'Ulama allowed Islamic texts to be printed in the Ottoman Empire. However, based on the numerous catalogues of Ottoman imprints, it seems that 1818 was a turning point in the history of printing in the Muslim world as increasing numbers of Islamic texts were being published from this date onwards. One of such early publications was Ismail al-Kalanbawi's Hashiyah 'ala Jalal al-Din al-Dawwani printed in Istanbul in 1818. No name of publisher is given, but the name of Abd al-Rahim Afendi appears in the colophon as being the printer. This suggests that the Ottoman government was the publisher since Abd al-Rahim was an official printer.

35. Sarkis, Mu'jam al-matbu'at, vol. 1 pp. 784-785. According to Sarkis, Haqqi died in 1883 and his first book Khazinat al-asrar was published in Cairo in 1872.

to Morocco as the 'Ulama took full advantage of printing technology both to enhance their popularity, and to continue their centuries-old traditions. Haqqi's comments were repeated by some Moroccans in their quest to import printing technologies to their country.

At this point let us see how Haqqi presented his case for printing, and compare it with the style of Muteferrika, recognizing the differences between the two men and their effectiveness in persuading Muslims to utilize printing machines. Under a saying by Muhammad the Prophet: "What the majority of Muslims see as acceptable is then aceptable with God as well," Haqqi provides his readers with a brief introduction and follows it with his ten comments about printing.

> "Among the good things which are created is printing books instead of copying [them] by pen. The 'Ulama of Islam, in the centre of Islam, deliberated repeatedly in 1725/6 and they agreed that there are ten [different] benefits in [using] printing [machines]. The Shaykh al-Islam [i.e., Abdallah Efendi] approved it [as well as] the Sultan, Ahmad al-Ghazi.
>
> The first benefit: the making of printed books has better rewards and is faster in meeting the needs of the common 'Awam as well as the Khawas (elites).
>
> Second: the past time Mujtahids [jurists] and authors - God may have mercy upon them - made their earnest efforts to strengthen Muhammad's religion and Islamic law through making books and spreading them to [all] distant lands from the early days of Islam, so if those books are printed, they would spread around the world in a short period of time with the help of his [prophets] blessed miracle - God may praise him and his family and the Karamat [generosities] of the authors.
>
> Third: when printed books are produced with the corrections of good Musahhih [i.e. editors], students would understand their [books] rapidly because the writer of the [manuscript] might copy the wrong [and sometimes] erase what he was not supposed to. Accordingly, teachers or students would not need additional copies because printed books cannot be erased or damaged by

humidity.

Fourth: the making of printed books created many benefits which are countless. And the greatest benefit is the making of a thousand copies in the same time as one book is edited. All of which with correct sentences benefiting many with little expenditure as many of the poor and the rich achieved their aims by gaining knowledge to reach perfection in a short period.

Fifth: making printed books [is producing] organized [books with the sense that they are] generally, indexed, along with numbered pages and even numbered lines in Indian numerals as we find them during our time.

Sixth; lowering the price [or the value] of books and facilitating owning them becomes common in cities and villages. [To give an example] once I wanted to have a second copy of Khazinat al-asrar in Istanbul, the scribe wanted one thousand and five hundred Qurush to do the job. [In an additional example] I heard from my teacher, Hajj Awliya, [during] the days I was studying in Istanbul, saying that Hajj Ayyub ordered [him] to buy [a copy] of Ruh al-bayan [a Koranic commentary by Isma'il Haqqi] to add it to the Library. [The book] was found with a man who wanted fifteen thousand for it. We gave him twelve thousand [but] he refused. And another man [who could pay the price] bought the book for fifteen thousand. But now [days] the book is [only] for four hundred or less because of the goodness of printing and [therefore] both the poor and [the financially] disabled own it.

Seven: through printing, [the number of] books increase [and, as they increase] they are deposited in Libraries [where] students copy them or review what they wish or desire and with increased volumes of books, the Muslim lands [will] flourish.

Eight: through their increase and widespread [distribution] to the shelters and outermost points of Muslim lands which are the sovereignty of the Ottoman state, a force [against] the infidels [is created] and jihad is also possible against them by soldiers of God especially when those imprints [or publications] are of the Koranic commentaries, Hadith; the secrets of the Koran, its pecularities; the prayers [which were] handed down [from one generation to another] as well as the prayers for [Muhammad, the Prophet] the master of mankind and the Jinn. Those [printed] words are [like] weapons and protection from calamity and fierce fire, whatever

location they are at. Also, they are the cause of mercy, blessing, tranquility, dignity and satisfaction. [Furthermore] the words bring the means of the divine support [to Muslims] when men and women among the believers read them. Accordingly, it was [well] said that 'printing books is a blessing and a help.'

Nine: the making of printed books [whether] in Arabic [or] in non-Arabic languages is blessed when it is [only] done by hands of Islam. When printing is done by infidels there will be no blessing on it.

Ten: the making of printed books did not take place at the first days of Islam. It was innovated after. and the dazzling clear benefits were found in its [use] in regard to spreading knowledge." (36)

When a concise comparison is made between Haqqi's ten points and the same ten points presented by Muteferrika in his essay, "Wasilat al-tiba'ah", one can recognize important similarities as well as differences. The similarities between what Haqqi and Muteferrika wrote about "the agent of printing" are not due to similarities in their experiences. Instead, the ten points above were a simple abbreviation of Muteferrika's original arguments. With the exception of a few insertions by Haqqi plus a few misrepresentations, they match exactly what Muteferrika wrote, more than a century previous.

One of the most serious shortcomings of Haqqi is his attribution of these ten points to the 'Ulama of Islam and their unanimous agreement (ijma') instead of to the original author, Muteferrika. Such a shortcoming could be interpreted as plagarism, but a better explanation could be that when Haqqi read the original documents including the sixteen letters of the 'Ulama in praise of printing in which they repeat Muteferrika's arguments, he preferred to refer to the 'Ulama

36. Haqqi, Mafza' al-khala'iq cited in al-Mahdi al-Wazzani's al-Mi'yar al-jadid, vol. 11, pp. 336-337.

instead of to Muteferrika because such a reference would be more beneficial and effective in spreading the case of printing among Muslims.

The second serious problem with Haqqi's ten points above is that he appears to make his readers believe that the 'Ulama of Islam permitted printing Islamic texts in 1725/6, which is contrary to what actually took place and was very clear from the Fatwa of Abd Allah Efendi. Printing was not fully accepted by the 'Ulama until 1818 when they actually began allowing Islamic texts to be printed with the new technology.[37] This problem could also be attributed to Haqqi's zeal to defend printing, but in reality Haqqi was careless in the use of his data. For example, in point number five above, he should have rendered Muteferrika's original idea as follows:

> "printed books are better organized than manuscripts because they provide a list of Errata, numbered in Indian numerals, which shows the exact location or errors according to page and line. (38)

The most significant difference between Haqqi and Muteferrika was the treatment of their topic and their methods of presentation. In presenting his ten points Haqqi resorted to Sufi terminology such as Karamah, Mu'jizah, Barakah and tried to convince his audience that when the words of the Koran and Hadith as well as the prayers of Islam were printed by Muslims and spread in all the Ottoman lands, these words would constitute a great force in a holy war against the infidels.

As a traditional Sufi scholar, Haqqi was popular during the 19th century in several important regions of the Muslim world such as Egypt,

37. See the comment above in note, number 34.
38. Muteferrika "Wasilat al-tiba'ah" in Mukhtar al-sihah by al-Jawhari. See the Introduction, note number five.

Hijaz and North Africa where his books like Khazinat al-asrar (The Store of the [Divine] Secrets and Mafza' al-khala'iq (The Shelter of The Scared People) were widely circulated, read and copied.[39] In his book, Khazinat al-asrar, Haqqi repeats his beliefs in the spiritual powers of the Koranic words:[40]

> "Any Muslim who wants to achieve any important matter or to prevent [dangers] he needs do nothing but write Surat al-ikhlas [which is a short chapter in the Koran] plus the Basmalah [in the name of God, the most merciful, etc.] one thousand times. And if he wants God's protection from his enemies and jealous people, or a cure from any ailment then [this Muslim] has to write the Basmalah in a cup filled with mud and drink it."

It is not clear, yet, to what extent Haqqi was effective in his utilization of Sufism in popularizing printing technology. But the famous Moroccan jurist and Sufi scholar, al-Mahdi al-Wazzani, recorded Haqqi's ten points in praise of printing in his book al-Mi'yar,[41] a collection of fatwas by various 'Ulama from within and outside Morocco. Because Sufi scholars like Haqqi or al-Wazzani embraced printing and promoted its usage in their books on Sufism and Islamic jurisprudence, it was not necessary for the religious authorities to issue new Fatwas to permit printing. Instead, they referred to a consensus of the 'Ulama in its use, as we shall see was the case in Morocco.

Contrary to Haqqi and other Sufi scholars, Muteferrika was a product of a Western culture and education. His biographer, N. Berkes,[42] who is a contemporary Turkish historian, informs us that

39. Sarkis, op. cit. All in all, Haqqi had ten published titles to his credit.
40. Haqqi, Khazinat al-asrar, p. 206.
41. al-Mahdi al-Wazzani, op. cit.
42. Berkes, op. cit.

Muteferrika was educated at the College of Klosvar in Transylvania in order to become a Unitarian minister. But at a certain point in his life Muteferrika was captured by the Turks in one of their encounters with Austrian troops. As a result, Muteferrika was put into slavery and owned by a cruel master whose ill treatment might have been the reason for Muteferrika's conversion to Islam and freedom. This is likely because Muteferrika showed throughout his life very little interest in theology and religious studies. His essay, Risalah Islamiyah[43] (The Islamic essay) is nothing but a sentimental attack against the Pope and his temporal power which any Unitarian of the time might have expressed, especially as Unitarianism was an underground religion. However, upon circulation of his essay, Risalah, Muteferrika rose to power and prestige as an Ottoman statesman, diplomat and, among other things, an adviser to the Sultan on European affairs.[44]

With such a background and political responsibility in mind, Muteferrika's major interest in printing technology was to direct it as an agent of change and reform according to the European experience which he knew best. In his essay on printing, Muteferrika's vision and aim are clear, that is to stem the rising tide of the European powers by democratizing education and knowledge for all the Ottoman citizens, whether they were in the smallest village or the furthest points of the Empire, because without knowledge and education any Jihad against Europe would not be possible. In this scheme printing with its capability to produce massive numbers of books and texts was a formidable

43. Necatioglu, Matbaci Ibrahim Muteferrika ve Risale-i Islamiye pp. 3-4.
44. Berkes, op. cit.; Necatioglu, op. cit.

tool to achieve such a goal.[45]

At the same time Muteferrika did not lose sight of the other benefits of printing technology which were abbreviated by Haqqi. But, unlike Haqqi, Muteferrika went further to remind his readers about the systematic destruction of Islamic books in Baghdad during the Abbaside period and in Andalusia, something which could not have happened if those books had been printed in multiple copies. Also, in addition to seeing printing as a tool for the preservation of knowledge, he called on Muslims to revive the treasures of Islam by printing them. To dramatize his defense of printing, Muteferrika made reference to the Europeans who printed Islam's classical texts like al-Shifa and al-Qanun by Ibn Sina, to benefit from their medical and philosophical knowledge which contributed to their strength and power.[46]

What we are presented with are contrasting profiles of a reformer and a pragmatic statesman, Muteferrika, and a spiritual leader with a firm belief in miracles and Islamic tradition, Haqqi. Although both men held the same concern and shared the same goal of stemming the rising tide of Europe, their backgrounds and beliefs led in two different directions. To Muteferrika and those like him (i.e., Katib Celebi, Mehmed and Said Efendi), the remedy was through democratization of knowledge according to European lines. This meant to train students in the secular sciences and Belles Lettres, while to Haqqi and the traditional scholars, spreading knowledge meant producing more and more theologians in order to restore Islamic traditions and power.

45. Muteferrika, op. cit., point number eight.
46. Ibid. Point numbers two and nine.

In short, what we have at hand are two different understandings of reform. Both resulted from the rise of Europe as a threat to the Ottoman Empire. One line called for radical change through democratization of education and a shift of focus from theology and jurisprudence to scientific and technological disciplines, borrowing from Europe. This approach was conceived by a few Muslim intellectuals like Katib Celebi and Ibrahim Muteferrika. The other line expressed the need to revive Islamic sciences and literature and viewed reform within the Islamic educational and cultural tradition.

So the question to be asked is what line would Moroccans follow, and would they use the Western technology in the same fashion as Haqqi envisioned, or would they use it according to Muteferrika. In the next chapter we will try to find out to what extent the Ottoman experience was echoed in Morocco and how Moroccans approached the introduction of this Western technology of printing.

CHAPTER V

PRINTING IN MOROCCO: THE EARLY ATTTEMPTS

In reviewing the history of printing in the Muslim world, we can easily observe three distinctive patterns according to which printing technology was introduced into Muslim lands. These patterns were: A)the minority pattern which meant that members of the non-Muslim Jewish or Christian communities within the Muslim world attempted and obtained their own printing machines to produce their own religious material. In this regard the Jews and Armenians of Istanbul as well as the Arab-speaking Christians in Allepo in 1706, were the best examples. B) The official pattern was carried out when Muslim officials made their journeys to such European capitals as Paris, where they learned about printing and either purchased the machines directly or made the effort to obtain them later. In this regard, the best examples are the Ottoman officials, followed by the Egyptians in 1820, and the Tunisians in 1860. C) The Colonial pattern was when the Europeans brought their own printing machines to the Muslim lands for their own use as was the case with the French in Egypt in 1798 and in Algeria in 1830.[1]

In Morocco, the efforts to introduce printing machines to the country bear similarities to the three patterns above, but yet there were striking differences which resulted in an outcome which was unparalleled in any Muslim country. A private citizen by the name of

1. David Partington, "Printing," in *Encyclopaedia of Library and Information Science,* vol. 24, pp. 54-75. Also see André Demeerseman, "Contribution à l'histoire de l'imprimerie Arabe en Tunisie," *IBLA,* vol. 25 (1962), pp. 135-145.

Muhammad al-Tayyib al-Rudani of Rudanit[2] in the Southern Souse region, surprised his government by bringing into Morocco its very first printing machine in 1864.

In this chapter I will trace the origin of Morocco's attempts to acquire printing technology to see where the same patterns cited above were repeated and why the outcome was different. The significance of doing so is to find answers to the question, why Morocco, despite its close proximity to the West, remained one of the last Muslim countries to adopt printing? Was it Morocco's self-imposed isolation from Western civilization or was it Morocco's unyielding attachment to its Islamic tradition and unwillingness to change which delayed its adoption of printing?

The beginning of printing in Morocco is perhaps traceable to the early years of the Sixteenth Century when Samuel L. Isaac and his son were believed to have set up a Hebrew press in Fez and printed some fifteen works between 1516 or 1521 and 1524. The basis upon which the establishment of the Hebrew press of Fez was built is the fact that Samuel Isaac had visited Lisbon where he learned the art of printing and from where he imported his machine.[3] At the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. there is still surviving an odd and imperfect work of Abudarham's commentary on Jewish liturgy and calendar, which is set in Lisbon type and thought to be one of the fifteen works published in Fez. Unfortunately the Fez speciman does not bear either a date or a

2. al-Mukhtar al-Susi, <u>Khilal Jazulah</u>, pp. 120-122. This includes a brief biography of al-Rudani, his father, and two other brothers.

3. David Corcos, "Fez" in <u>Encyclopaedia Judaica</u>, pp. 1255-1258. See also Elkan Alder, <u>Jewish Travellers</u>, p.XX. Also, Aron Freimann, <u>Gazeteer of Hebrew Printing.</u>

place of publication which could be used as solid evidence that the work had actually been published in Fez.[4]

The establishment of a Hebrew printing press in Fez in the early 16th Century fits within the minority pattern described above, and is compatible with the general Islamic attitude about printing technology and books of non-Muslims. But there still remains serious doubt whether in fact a Hebrew printing operation ever existed in Fez during the 16th Century. This is so because if there had indeed been such a printing machine it would, like the Istanbul Hebrew establishment, have appeared in Moroccan sources. To hide a bulky machine from the watchful eyes of the Moroccan authorities at the port of entry, or in the city of Fez for several years, does not seem likely. In addition, the late 15th and early 16th centuries were the years when both Muslims and Jews were expelled from Spain and Portugal, and if either group had brought in any unusual machines we would have read about it. Accordingly, one has to remain doubtful about the reality of the Hebrew press in Fez until new information can be found. The fifteen Hebrew books could simply have been imported texts from Spain, Portugal, even Venice where there were printing establishments which produced Hebrew texts for export.[5]

4. Sarah Wallace, "Editor's Note," The Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress, vol. 27, no. 3 (July, 1970), p. 183.

5. It should be noted here that because of the lack of dates and places of publication for some of the Hebrew books which were presumably printed in Istanbul by the turn of the 16th century, no one yet knows for sure what the first Hebrew imprint was in Istanbul. Here too, more evidence is needed to document the exact beginning of Hebrew printing in Istanbul. However, unlike Fez, there are a few Hebrew publications which bear a date or place of publication.

The second interesting and relevant reference to printing comes in the form of a news report in the French Gazette, "Courrier de l'Egypte" printed in Cairo in 1799. In it we read about,

> a group of distinguished 'Ulama like al-Mahdi and al-Sawi, who were invited by Napoleon's government to review the newly installed Arabic-French moveable type printing machine in Cairo. Among the distinguished guests were Shaykh Muhammad al-Fasi [i.e., from Fez] who commented that 'he also had seen the Istanbul printing machine and thought that the Cairo machine was faster and produced better quality books. (6)

What is not clear about al-Fasi is whether he was a traveler or a merchant on his way to Mecca or Madinah, or was just one of many North Africans who lived in Egypt.[7] Also, it is not clear whether al-Fasi was comparing the French press in Cairo with that of Muteferrika's or the 1780 printing machines which interestingly enough were also imported from Paris.[8] Based on what we have learned from the Ottoman experience at printing, (see Chapter IV) it is possible that al-Fasi meant the 1780 printing machines of Istanbul which continued to have technical problems for lack of skilled type-casters who were the key to producing good quality books. What is most important about al-Fasi and his remarks in relation to the French and Turkish presses in Cairo and Istanbul, is that there were at least some Moroccans, especially those who travelled to the East on pilgrimages or for commerce, who knew about the existence of printing machines in the Muslim world. And yet, they seemed uninterested in pursuing the idea further by suggesting

6. Courrier de l'Egypte, vol. 5 (1799), pp. 273-274.
7. For a general survey of North Africans in Cairo, see A. Abdurrahim, Les maghrebins en Egypte à l'époque Ottomane (1517-1798).
8. Lord Kinross, The Ottoman Centuries, p. 420.

that Moroccans should acquire these printing machines for book or periodical production. This seems reasonable because Moroccans were already self-sufficient and did not appear to need printing (see chapter I).

The third and definitely the most significant reference to printing in relation to Morocco is found in a travel book to France by Muhammad al-Saffar in 1845/6. In his report which is known as Rihlah,[9] al-Saffar recorded with great care and considerable detail numerous aspects of the French civilization and system of government. Because al-Saffar's remarks are very important to the history of printing in Morocco as well as to the history of reform and change in the country, I will cite some of his remarks at length, then, I will follow them up with a close up examination of the factors which made al-Saffar's observations significant to Morocco especially during the second half of the 19th Century.

In general, al-Saffar's description of France, and in particular Paris, covers almost every aspect of French life and civilization, with special attention to the form of government and the army with its vast resources, organization and weaponry. In the field of government, what attracted al-Saffar most was that the French government was centralized

9. A major portion of this Rihlah has been translated from its original Arabic manuscript into English by Susan Miller as part of her Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Michigan. See Miller, Voyage to the Land of Rum: the "Rihlah of the Moroccan Muhammad al-Saffar to France, December 1845 - March 1846. Also a brief description of this voyage is provided by Muhammad al-Fasi, "al-Rihlah al-safariyah al-Maghribiyah" in al-Bayyinah, vol. 1, no. 6(1962), pp. 11-24. See also Muhammad Dawud, Tarikh Tituan, vol. 3, p. 2, pp. 297-309. The original text of al-Rihlah by Saffar is at Bibliothèque Royale in Rabat. Ms. Miller kindly provided me with a xeroxed copy of the Rihlah portion about printing.

and the French Sultan had delegated authority to nine different ministers to administer the Treasury, foreign affairs, education, internal affairs, justice, commerce and agriculture, roads and bridges, war and military affairs, and finally the naval and sea affairs.[10]

Among all nine ministries, the Ministry of Education, or the Ministry of Schools as al-Saffar called it, must have been quite interesting for its telling contrasts with the Moroccan educational system. In this regard, al-Saffar wrote that

> "this Minister of Schools....supervises the teaching of the learned sciences. He has authority over all matters of education including the organization of the school and the transfer of [instructors] to distant parts to teach them the latest knowledge even if it is about the planting of trees. A learned man there [in France] is sommeone who is able to discover new principles and reveal their fine points [i.e., conclusions] by presenting sound proofs of them to those who doubt or oppose his findings. The name *'alim* for them is not limited to someone who has studied the sources of Christian faith and its various branches. They are called priests and are rather undistinguished in respect to other logical and precise sciences.(11)

During his visits to the Royal Library and the Government printing establishment where he witnessed some eight hundred individuals at work, al-Saffar continued his investigation into the elements of French civilization which evoked even more astonishment and deep admiration. At the Royal Library he found all sorts of Arabic manuscripts in both the Maghribi and Eastern scripts along with scores of printed books in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, etc., including Katib Celebi's book,[12] which

10. Miller, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-254.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 251-252.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 100-112.

he seemed to recognize. Although he described other Parisian institutions like the museums, zoos, botanical gardens, and theatres, al-Saffar appears through his enthusiasm and involvement to be most at ease with the printing press, which he described in meticulous detail.

> "On Thursday, the thirteenth day of the month, we went to the house for printing books called the astanpa (estampe) which is another of their marvelous crafts. First of all, the letters they print with are cast on a tin die, thick at the bottom and narrow at the top, where the letter [appears]. Then, [the printer] takes the letters he wants and places them on a frame the size of the page to be printed, arranging them in straight lines, like writing. The letters are held tightly together on a frame by a device that keeps them in order. Then they coat it with ink and lay a sheet of paper on it, pressing it tight by means of a vise. When the paper comes out, it is completely covered with writing....We tested one of them [i.e. a typesetter] by writing out a line [in Arabic] and he set it down exactly in type. We told him to break it up, which he did, and there were thirty-four letters. Each one was returned to its place [i.e., compartment] without a mistake. This completely astonished us.
>
> ...With these letters they can print as many pages as they want, a hundred, a thousand, or tens of thousands of them, all of them exactly the same. They do the same for every page until they reach the last page of the book.
>
> The most amazing printing device we saw there was a special way of printing a book regardless of the writing, be it non-Arabic or Arabic, Eastern or Maghribi [script] or whatever. They do this by taking a sheet written on with special ink that is reddish-colored like the dye from walnuts. They place it on a stone, fastening the sheet to the stone. When they open it up the writing is printed on the stone just as on the page [sic] with this stone they print whatever pages they want after having smeared the stone with that ink. The pages come out written exactly like the original without any change whatever. I wrote in my hand a line with that ink on a piece of paper which they put on stone and the writing became imprinted on it. Then they printed other pages with the stone which came out exactly like the [first] one. [In this way] you can print a book in whatever handwriting you wish." 13

13. Ibid., pp. 239-240, 242-243.

To comment on al-Saffar's remark above, one could say that Moroccans like al-Saffar and before him Muhammad al-Fasi, knew much about printing technology and what it stood for. What makes al-Saffar's remarks very important is not his detailed knowledge or awareness about printing. Instead, it was al-Saffar's own position in Morocco. Between the 1850s and 1882, al-Saffar served three Sultans, 'Abd al-Rahman, Muhammad IV and Hasan I in various capacities. He was a clerk and a scribe at the Court of Sultan Abd al-Rahman and during the reign of Muhammad IV he became Morocco's first Justice Minister and advisor to the Sultan. This was a position he held during the reign of Hasan and until his death in 1882. Also, al-Saffar tutored Sultan Hasan I who was known as the utmost reformer among all the Moroccan Sultans during the nineteenth century.[14] Interestingly, it was during this period in Moroccan history that various attempts at reforms were taken in regard to updating the army, centralizing the tax system and even deciding the fate and direction of printing technology.

Another factor which adds to the importance of Saffar's remarks is that he was very likely instructed by the Moroccan Sultan, Abd al-Rahman, to visit France and record his observations about their practices so that Moroccans would "learn lessons"[15] from the French. The

14. Dawud, op. cit. vol. 7, pt. 1, pp.77-85. Also Muhammad Gharrit, Fawasil al-juman, pp. 70-71.

15. Dawud, op. cit. vol. 3, pt. 2, pp. 299-300. al-Saffar states that he decided to write about what he heard or saw because there might be knowledge or science to learn. However, as Dawud pointed out, all the travel books in Morocco were considered confidential reports. In fact, no one in Morocco - even al-Saffar's children - has seen his Rihlah, which still exists only at the Bibliothèque Royale in Rabat.

timing of his visit to Paris came only eighteen months after the French handily defeated the Moroccans at the Isly river near the Algerian border.[16] Thus, like the Ottomans, the Morrocans were under heavy pressure from Europe at the time that they sent an envoy to France to seek solutions to their problems. It also means that the awareness they gained of printing came not when Moroccans were changing their reading habits, or increasing their consumption of books, but rather at a time when they were on the defensive and becoming overwhelmed by European threats.

However, there were also telling differences between the Ottoman and Moroccan encounters with Europe. The Moroccan visit to France did not result in a commitment to adopt printing technology along with the other reforms brought back from this country. Moroccans were far more traditional than the Ottomans and unyielding in their attachment to their educational system and culture. They did not see any need to change their traditional system of book production, which was closely associated with Islam and the Malikiyah 'Ulama.

To illustrate this point, let us compare the two emmisaries to France, Mehmed Chelebi, the Ottoman envoy, and al-Saffar, the Moroccan envoy to see why the Ottomans became the first Muslims to adopt printing while the Moroccans were among the last Muslims to accept printing. Unlike al-Saffar, Chelebi was a career diplomat and a statesman with considerable experience in solving political problems which required practical approaches to meet the challenges of Europe on land and at sea. When Chelebi recommended the shift from script to the

16. Miller, op. cit., pp. 12-15.

printed word as a means of progress and preparation against Europe, there was a relatively quick response. What helped Chelebi's case was the fact that he was surrounded by supportive government officials like his own son, Said, who became the Grand Vizier and had learned French for easier access to French thought and technology. There was also Muteferrika who became the manager of the printing establishment. Chelebi and his reformist colleagues viewed the Ottoman Empire as progressive and Europe as the source of new ideas and reforms. They saw printing as a one of the tools of modernity. They were more concerned with progress than the fate of traditional book makers in Istanbul whose profession might be put in jeopardy by the advent of printing.[17]

On the other side of the spectrum was al-Saffar who, as his main biographer Muhammad Dawud informs us,[18] was a typical scholar and product of Morocco's Islamic educational system. He memorized the Koran, learned *Hadith*, and studied jurisprudence based on Khalil ibn Ishaq's *Mukhtasar*. In his professional life, al-Saffar became a copyist in the Andalusian style. He then worked as *Adl* (notary public) preparing legal and formal petitions for judges for settlement. In addition to working for the governor of Tetuan, Abd al-Qadir Ash'ash, as clerk, he taught Islamic sciences and provided *Fatwas* (religious judgments) for the public. It is also important to note that when the Sultan chose Abd al-Qadir Ash'ash to visit Paris on a diplomatic mission, al-Saffar was included not only as clerk and reporter but also the group's spiritual

17. Kinross, *op. cit.*, pp. 381-382.
18. Dawud, as in note 14 above.

leader. al-Saffar stayed in France about fifty days but did not become influenced by the French way of life. He viewed their adherence to Christianity as corrupt and invalid.[19] Nevertheless he was generous to the French when he described them as "honest, hardworking, lawful, crafty and good fighters in battle."[20] What is unusual about his report is his assertion that "religious zeal is not enough to win battles." Instead, it takes "good training, discipline, organization and good weaponry," which he witnessed in France.[21]

al-Saffar was different from Celebi. He was in the company of very traditional Sultans and Ministers like Idris al-Amrawi and al-Tayyib Bu'ishrin (better known as Bilyamani).[22] It was with similar officials who were embedded in Islamic education and were its main benefactors that al-Saffar worked and served. Therefore, it is not surprising that al-Saffar and his associates in the Moroccan government made no attempt to disturb the status quo by adopting printing despite the fact that al-Saffar, and the very few who read his reports, knew what it took to produce books by hand.

About fifteen years after al-Saffar's visit to Paris, Spanish forces invaded Northern Morocco and took control of Tetuan in 1860. As a result, another diplomatic mission was sent to Paris to learn more about ways of strengthening and protecting Morocco. This time the choice of ambassador was Idris al-Amrawi, who also was a clerk who had risen to the rank of Minister to Sultan Muhammad IV. Unlike al-Saffar,

19. Miller, _op. cit.,_ pp. 142, 214.
20. _Ibid.,_ pp. 145, 156-157, 191, 194.
21. _Ibid.,_ p. 292.
22. Gharrit, _op. cit._

al-Amrawi was from a prominent Andalusian family in Fez and the son of Morocco's most popular poet whose pro-Jihad and anti-European poems were very common throughout the country. They echoed the grave dangers Moroccans faced, including the threat of European domination.[23]

In his report to Sultan Muhammad, al-Amrawi followed exactly the same steps as al-Saffar in describing all impressive aspects of the French civilization, but he went a step further in making a direct appeal to the Sultan to adopt printing.

> "This machine which the French use to print [books and periodicals, etc.] is useful in every aspect. It helps to increase the [number of] books and to disseminate knowledge of the sciences to the public. Its [positive] result is evident [to every intelligent person]. [The machine] has been used in all Muslim countries [except Morocco] and the famed 'Ulama are delighted about it. The printed books are low in cost, and the [editors] give their fullest attention to producing accurate and well-set scripts. [Accordingly,] we request...our Sultan to acquire a printing press and thus improve our country."[24]

What is interesting about al-Amrawi's appeal is his reference to the 'Ulama of Islam like Haqqi and even Mahmud Qabadu of Tunisia, who became the first director of the Tunisia's printing press which produced Imam Malik's book, <u>al-Muwatta</u> in 1863,[25] among many other Malikiyah traditional texts. Once again, the appeal was shelved by the Sultan for the same old reasons, at a time when al-Saffar was the main advisor of Sultan Muhammad IV.

The defeat of Tetuan left the Moroccan treasury in ruin. With a bankrupt treasury the Moroccan Sultan was very likely reluctant to

23. Abd al-Rahman ibn Zaydan, <u>Ithaf</u>, vol. 4, pp. 189-239.
24. <u>al-Ibriz fi mamlakat Bariz.</u> Cited in al-Manuni's <u>Mazahir</u>, vol. 1, p. 260.
25. Malik ibn Anas, <u>al-Mawatta,</u> the 1863 Tunisian edition. The colophon.

approve al-Amrawi's appeal, even if he had agreed to the usefulness of printing technology and its potential use to serve Islam and Islamic sciences.

The reluctance of the Moroccan Sultan to import printing technology into Morocco left the door open for an unusual move by a private citizen, Muhammad al-Tayyib al-Rudani, to bring to Morocco not only the country's first printing machine, but also an Egyptian printer to operate it in 1864. Who was al-Rudani? What prompted him to bring a printing machine and printer? What did he intend to do with it? What was the reaction of the Moroccan authorities to al-Rudani and his printing machine, and to the printer?

Biographers of al-Rudani[26] inform us that he came from the capital of the Southern Souse region, Rudanit, which is near the coastal port of al-Suwayrah. Because Rudanit is mainly populated with Berbers, one can presume that al-Rudani was from Berber stock. He seems to have come from a line of learned scholars, for his father and grandfather were 'Ulama who held the position of Qudat (i.e., judges) in the region. Accordingly, it is very likely that al-Rudani was educated at home first, then sent to Fez, as his biographer adds, for further education. Upon completion of his education, al-Rudani taught Arabic and Islamic sciences and followed his father by becoming a judge.

al-Mukhtar al-Susi, who is one of al-Rudani's main biographers, informs us that al-Rudani often replaced his father on the bench during his absences. Another significant piece of information we learn from al-Susi is that al-Rudani's father and grandfather were both strict and

26. al-Susi, op. cit.

conservative scholars with uncompromising moral codes. They did not hesitate to remind the makhzan (government) officials of their shortcomings or abuses of power.[27] This attitude and uprightness caused both men to be out of favor with their local authorities. As a matter of fact, al-Rudani's father had been once exiled from Rudanit and sent to Wujdah, on the Algerian border, for taking the side of the rebels in a local uprising against the Makhzan officials. However, according to al-Rudani's ijazah (diploma), which was signed by his teacher from Fez, Muhammad al-Mahdi ibn Sudah, he seems to have been working as a judge in Wujdah (Ibn Sudah described him as the Judge of Wudjah around Sept. 1849),[28] so al-Rudani was fully aware of his father's plight, as he shared his exile with him.

Muhmmad al-Manuni who is one of the leading Moroccan antiquarians and biographers, informs us that al-Rudani built water fountains in his home town to provide fresh water for drinking and washing five times daily for the prayer rituals.[29] What the biographical accounts of al-Rudani tell us is that he was a religious scholar and teacher with a noted philanthropic attitude. So, was it al-Rudani's wish to import a printing machine to aid teachers like himself in their eduational endeavors or was it his intention to open a new chapter in his own life and become a publisher?

Before al-Rudani went to Mecca in 1864, he gave no indication of his intention except to pay a visit to the holy Islamic cities of Mecca

27. Ibid.
28. al-Manuni, Mazahir yaqzat al-maghrib, vol. 1, pp. 261-262, note number 4.
29. Ibid.

and Medina. But on his return trip, he stopped in Cairo, bought a lithographic printing machine and made a contract with an Egyptian printer by the name of Muhammad al-Qabbani (or al-Qayyani) to work for him for a year. Because the content of the contract between al-Rudani and the Egyptian printer shed a good deal of light on al-Rudani's intent, and where he wanted the press to be operated, I will cite its text and make a few observations about it.[30]

> It was on the blessed day of Wednesday, 14 days past the month of Rabi` al-Awwal, the year 1281 [i.e., August 17, 1864] that the eminent Qadi, Monsieur al-Rudani, son of the late Muhammad al-Rudani from the town of Rudan [Rudanit] Morocco agreed with Muhammad al-Qayyani al-Matbu`ji [i.e., al-Qabbani] son of the late Ibrahim from Misr [i.e. Cairo]- the editor of this contract - to go to the town of Rudan in the land of Morocco to assume the task of operating the printing press for the period of a full year, starting on the month of Rabi` al-Awwal, 1281 [August, 1864] and ending in the gracious month [meaning the month of Safar, 1282] [November, 1865]. As compensation [Mr. al-Qabbani will be] satisfied with food, drink and clothing as he wishes, and after every month he will be given two hundred piasters as pocket money [to which] Muhammad al-Qabbani immediately agreed. And after a year, if Muhammad al-Qabbani wants to return to his country, Egypt...the Qadi, Monsieur al-Tayyib will send him [back home] at his own expense. He [al-Rudani] also agreed to that stipulation. [In addition] Muhammad al-Qabbani has received from him [al-Rudani] a loan for the sum of nine Binittos to pay back his [al-Qabbani's] debts in Cairo. This sum will be paid back to al-Rudani at the place of his residence, and if he [al-Qabbani] wants to return to his country after the year of service, the debt will be paid back all at once.
>
> Upon this both have agreed in the presence of the Muslims in attendance [witnesses]. [This contract was] written in 14 Rabi` al-Awwal , the year 1281 [August 17, 1864]

30. Germain Ayache, "l'Apparition de l'Imprimerie au Maroc", _Hespéris-Tamuda_ (1964), p. 18. This essay includes a facsimile of the text of the contract. My translation of the contract is based on this copy and was compared with the same text in al-Manuni, _op. cit.,_ vol. 1, pp. 279-298.

by Muhammad al-Qabbani al-Matba`ji [and] the honorable _Qadi_, Monsieur al-Tayyib al-Rudani."

It is clear from the contract above that al-Rudani wanted his newly purchased printing machine in his hometown, Rudanit, but it is not clear whether he wanted to print books, periodicals, or legal documents (i.e., _Watha'iq_). But knowing that he was a teacher and a judge, one can imagine that producing educational and legal materials would very likely be his first choice. Also, as a Muslim scholar and a Moroccan, he purchased a lithographic printing machine which was best suited to produce books in the same manner as producing manuscripts to maintain the characteristics of local, traditional Maghribi scripts.

But how about the financial aspect of the operation? The contract shows al-Rudani as being very generous and trusting to have advanced his printer money to pay his debt in Cairo and to have even agreed to pay him his monthly wage seventeen days before the contract was written. Does this generosity of al-Rudani mean that he was being merely philanthropic towards the people of Rudanit and the surrounding regions, or was he lured by the Egyptian printer, who was in debt, to purchase the machine and hire him to set up an operation about which al-Rudani knew nothing, except that it could produce multiple copies of books while preserving the integrity of the Maghribi script?

The answer to such questions will never be answered because in September, 1864, the Moroccan government did not allow the printing machine to go beyond Meknes where the Sultan resided . According to the famous Moroccan historian, Ibn Zaydan, who was also a member of the royal family, al-Rudani presented his printing machine as a gift to

Sultan Muhammad IV.[31] (al-Mukhtar al-Susi, unlike Ibn Zaydan, used the term Hiyazah, which means either to buy from or to take away, in describing the transferral of the machine from al-Rudani to the government.[32])

Based on a document[33] which I uncovered in the summer of 1986 what happened in al-Suwayrah was that when the printing machine arrived at the port, the Amin (i.e., customs official), al-Faransawi al-Qabbaj, notified the Qa'id (governor) of the region, Abd Allah Wabbah al-Susi, about the machine. He in turn wrote the Sultan asking what he should do about this machine which was totally new to his eyes. The narrator of the port incident, al-Tayyib al-Azraq, who was one of the Egyptian printer's students in Fez, and Morocco's very first printer, pointed out that the Sultan ordered that both the machine and the printer be sent to Meknes. (It was in Meknes that Morocco's first printed book was completed in June 1865). But al-Tayyib did not make any mention of gifts or compensation, or even the fate of al-Rudani who seems to have died in 1865 before seeing the first product of his printing machine.[34]

What this means is that the Moroccan government must have confiscated the machine. This seems to be the case since al-Saffar, who knew much about the chemical or stone printing, was the Justice Minister and the second main adviser to Sultan Muhammad IV in his court. Also, it

31. al-Manuni, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 263.
32. al-Susi, op. cit.
33. The original copy is with the al-Runda family in Rabat. It is part of the notebook in which the late Abd al-Salam al-Runda, Morocco's former Justice Minister, recorded his memories and business affairs. The family kindly allowed me to xerox the document and use it.
34. al-Susi, op. cit. Here a poet who eulogized al-Rudani's death wrote that al-Rudani was "forced to his grave" without giving any other details.

is interesting to note that whatever surviving financial records about wages of printers and other expenses existed, were kept by al-Saffar's teacher, the Grand Vizir, al-Tayyib Bu ishris indicating that the latter was chosen to oversee the finances of the newly confiscated machine.[35] Another interesting point is that the al-Runda document shows that it was the Egyptian printer, al-Qabbani, who upon being informed about "Fez and its abundant 'Ulama and books," requested from the Sultan to move the printing machine to Fez in 1865 where it remained in use probably until the 1940s serving the Sultans, the 'Ulama, the notables, the common people, and playing an important role of reviving Islam and Islamic education while bringing scores of other changes which I will examine in detail in the coming chapters.

As we have seen, the attempts by Moroccans were similar in some respects to the attempts by the Ottomans to acquire the new printing technology for their countries. Both regions recognized the ramifications of the fact that this technology came from Europe. However, in the case of the Ottomans, they were open to the new European influences whereas the Moroccan decision makers drew their strength and legitimacy from the traditional Islamic system and thus were resistant to reform ideas which suggested changes in that system. Their reforms were all directed at updating the army according to modern European methods but the calls to adopt the new printing technology were postponed until a private citizen introduced the country not only to its first printing machine, but also to a foreign printer from Egypt to operate it. The

35. Ayache, _op. cit._

significance of al-Rudani as a Muslim scholar was that he determined the type of printing machine he would use. The lithographic machine was best suited for Moroccan traditional 'Ulama because it maintained the integrity of the Maghribi script and the format of the traditional book.

The reaction of the authorities in Morocco to the arrival of the printing machine was to confiscate it from private hands. This was expected as there were officials like al-Saffar, Idris al-Amrawi, etc. who had seen printing machines in France being utilized by the government for educational political and cultural purposes. The question remains as to how the Moroccan government would utilize printing technology. Would these officials use it in a limited way to reform its army and educate its soldiers, as both the Egyptians and the Ottomans did, or would they hand the machine to the 'Ulama to utilize as they saw fit in reviving Islam and Islamic education. In the next chapters we will try to answer such questions to see the limits of change or lack of change which could be attributed to the use of printing in Morocco.

CHAPTER VI

PRINTING AND CHANGE IN MOROCCO, 1865-1912

When we study the history of printing in Europe, we find two conflicting viewpoints with regard to the impact of printing on change. From the viewpoint of most Renaissance scholars the advent of printing comes too late to be taken as a point of departure for the transition to modern times,[1] but to historians of printing, Gutenberg's invention, in the space of two centuries [from the 1450s to 1650] ceased to be a novelty and became an indispensable tool of civilization. And during the same space of time European political, religious and social life lost its medieval aspect and assumed more or less its modern form.[2] In Morocco, the advent of printing in 1864 also seems to have marked the beginning of a new era when the country gradually lost many of its medieval and Islamic characteristics and slowly evolved into a semi-modern country.

To make a connection between printing and increased volume of production of books or standardization in terms of using uniform type is one thing, but to say there is a connection between printing and change is more difficult to establish because an increased volume of books does not insure the fact that they will be read. Conversely, books such as the Bible and the Koran were widely read and memorized, but there was no need for printing machines to make them influential among the people.

1. Elizabeth Eisenstein, _Printing as an Agent of Change_, vol. 1, pp. 4-6.
2. Archer Taylor, _Printing and Progress_, p. 1.

On the European side, however, the literature which emphasized the various connections between printing and change is overwhelming. This connection continues to provide a lively scholarly topic because of the complexity of European history and the multiple social, economic and political factors which contributed in one way or another to the transformation of Europe from its medieval to modern forms.[3]

This is in contrast to Morocco of the 1860s where there was no Renaissance movement or Industrial Revolution. Instead there were small and limited efforts at reform which originated from the reaction of Moroccans to the mounting threats and encroachments of European forces on Moroccan land. Whatever major social, economic or political changes were taking place in Morocco between 1865 and 1912 could be readily linked to a direct or indirect interference from Europe in Morocco's internal affairs, rather than to printing technology. This is particularly true since the management of printing at this period remained in the hands of the traditional forces, the government officials, the 'Ulama and the notables.

Here, and in the next three chapters, I will take up the involvement of various segments of the Moroccan society in printing, to see how it effected or changed their lives. I will include the Sultans, the government officials, the 'Ulama and the notables, in the discussion with special reference to the influence of printing on the intellectual life in Morocco. I have limited my discussion to the period between 1865 and 1912 because after this time Morocco came under French protection and management. During this time the direction of

3. Eisenstein, <u>op. cit.</u>

the country turned towards an abandonment of the Islamic educational system and a limited application of Islamic law.

I. The Moroccan Government and Printing

Between 1865 and 1912 the Moroccan involvement in printing on a government level went through three distinct phases. During the first phase, which lasted from 1865 to 1871, the government acted as the sole manager of printing. From 1872 to 1907, printing, in its second and third phases, came under the management of the private sector. During the second and third periods the government continued to utilize printing on an occasional basis to serve the religious and political purposes of the Sultans, namely Hasan I and Abd al-Aziz. During these latter phases the government became aware of printing as a formidable political tool. It moved to regulate printing and impose censorship This set the stage for the final phase which started in 1908-9 with Sultan Abd al-Hafiz, who reinstated total government control over printing and undertook other actions which brought about many significant changes to Morocco.

In this chapter I will discuss the four phases of government involvement in printing to see what types of changes the utilization of printing technology brought to Morocco.

A). Phase One: The Moroccan Government as Manager of Printing.

When the authorities in Morocco, namely Sultan Muhammad IV and his advisers the Grand Vizier al-Tayyib Bel Yamani and al-Saffar, decided to send al-Rudani's lithographic printing machine and the Egyptian printer, al-Qabbani, to Meknes, they did not mean only to confiscate the

machine but also to assume control of its management. The very concept of the government as manager of a printing establishment was novel to Morocco and a visible departure from the government's traditional functions, which did not include producing multiple sets of books for commercial use (see Chapter I). Therefore, examining this new role of the Moroccan government should give us valuable insights into the extent to which printing influenced and changed the country.

For the Moroccan government to become the successful manager of this printing establishment, it had to undertake several important steps such as finding a suitable location, creating the support staff, managing the financial affairs, and marketing the product. Above all it had to set the standards for quality control as well as the rules and regulations in regard to what could be printed.

Among the very first decisions taken was the choice of locating the new establishment in Zanqat Jaza' Barquqah in Fez.[4] This site was an excellent choice because it was on the bank of the Fez river where plenty of water was available for the various functions of the process such as cleaning the printing stones or washing the hands of the workers. Also, the location was within reach of the marketplace around the ancient al-Qarawiyin mosque which indicates that economic or educational factors were present in the minds of the managers. In addition,

4. Khalid al-Azhari, Hashiyah 'ala al-Ajurrumiyah, the 1878 Fez edition. In the colophone (ending remarks) of this edition there is a stamped statement with the name of Jaza Barquqah in Fez as the location of the printing establishment. A xeroxed copy of the colophon is provided by al-Manuni in his Mazahir yaqzat al-Maghrib vol. 1, p. 264. Also, the name of the street is known in Fez as Gazam [instead of Jaza] Barququah. See Roger Le Tourneau Fes avant le protectorat, map number 17.

the location was near Hayy al-Makhfiyah where most of the 'Ulama and religious leaders of Fez lived, especially those of Andalusian origin.[5] The managers wanted to be near the 'Ulama for commercial purposes and for their professional assistance as editors. The success of this location was evident from the fact that it remained the same for about a half a century. Even when Sultan Abd al-Hafiz decided to confiscate the private printing machines and establish his own printing operation in 1909, he used the same location at Zanqat Jaza` Barquqah.[6]

The second important decision about the printing establishment concerned the recruitment of its staff and its organization. When the Egyptian printer was in Meknes he was assisted by a local royal scribe by the name of Muhammad ibn Sulayman.[7] Sulayman also seems to have joined al-Qabbani in copying most of the remaining six titles which were produced in Fez until 1871 when al-Qabbani returned to his country, Egypt.[8] Early records show the selection of an editor and the appointment of some twenty individuals. The editor, Abu Hafs 'Umar al-Runda was the second ranking judge in Fez and one of its distinguished 'Ulama.[9] Neither al-Runda nor Sulayman relinguished their former professions. Instead, they worked for the printing establishment on a consignment basis. The other twenty individuals were

5. Le Tourneau, op. cit.
6. al-Manuni, op. cit. vol.1, p. 291.
7. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 267. Also Mustapha Bouchara, Immigrations et protections, vol. 1, pp. 416-417. In this source, brief biographical information about Muhammad ibn Sulayman (the scribe) as statesman is provided,. See also Muhammad Gharrit, Fawasil al-juman, pp. 92-109.
8. al-Manuni, op. cit.
9. Abd al-Salam al-Runda, Hadith ma`a al-Tayyib al-Azraq p. 1. For biographical information about al-Runda see al-Kattani, Salwat al-anfas vol. 2, p. 368.

students (i.e. Talabah or Muta'allim), workers and binders.[10] The names of the students are not known except for Muhammad al-Tayyib al-Azraq who became Morocco's very first professional printer, and Muhammad al-Hafruki al-Marrakushi whose works and activities still remain unknown.[11] Both al-Azraq and al-Marrakushi were trained by al-Qabbani and were given ijazah (diplomas) as professional printers, not by al-Qabbani, but by Abd al-Qadir al-Shafshawuni on February 16, 1869.[12] al-Shafshawui must have been one of al-Qabbani's students whom Sultan Muhammad IV sent to Bulaq in Egypt to learn the art of printing at the Government printing office and to become the government's general inspector of printing.[13]

The fact that al-Shafshawuni gave an ijazah (diploma) to both al-Azraq and al-Marrakushi indicates that there was an examination or a test of skills required before an individual could practice printing. It also meant that the Moroccan government was in the position to award qualified printers a certificate which made their trade a profession. Unfortunately, just as al-Marrakushi's name disappeared after 1871, so does the name of al-Shafshawuni, whose involvement with other printers

10. al-Tayyib Bel Yamani, "Bayan nafaqat allati surifat `ala al-matba`ah al-Malakiyah" in al-Watha`iq, vol. 1 (1976), pp. 436-437.

11. al-Manuni, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 271. A xeroxed copy of the diploma given to al-Azraq and al-Marrakushi is provided. The original diploma is at The Royal Archives in Rabat.

12. Ibid.

13. al-Tayyib Bel Yamani,"Risalah ila Amin al-Umana...al-Madani Binnis tata`allaqu bi-irsal shabb ila Misr" in al-Watha'iq, vol. 1, pp. 420-421. " This is a letter dated July 1866 from the Grand Vazir, al-Tayyib, to the head financial officer, Binnis, in regard to sending a student [al-Shafshawuni] to Egypt to learn the art of printing. See also Muhammad Fikri, al-Athar al-Fikriyah, pp. 55-56 which included correspondence between Sultan Muhammad IV and Khedive Isma`il of Egypt regarding al-Shafshawuni who was learning printing at Bulaq (Egypt) in the government printing office. This letter is dated February, 1867.

remains unknown. One can only assume that al-Shafshawuni continued to examine other printers like al-Makki ibn Idris al-'Amrawi, and to give them diplomas as well.

What all this means is that the Moroccan government considered the printing establishment in Fez to be so significant to the country that it appointed a high-ranking editor,[14] and a royal scribe, and it recruited students from the families of notables to train, examine and certify to insure the continuation and success of the enterprise in the country. The efforts to organize and assemble a variety of skills in printing, copying, editing, and binding under one roof, in order to produce a commodity in multiple numbers for both public and governmental consumption, was by itself new to Morocco and a sharp contrast to the traditional system of manuscript production which lacked a real sense of organization and control. (see Chapter I).

Although the Moroccan government succeeded in creating a new organization in a suitable location, the real success would come with providing good quality books at reasonable prices. The government, therefore, had to play the role of good busines manager in terms of finance and distribution, which meant not only opening new markets but also changing the nature of the traditional book business from mu'ajarah, (or service) to an inventory-based operation. The financial management at this stage meant paying salaries, and rent, and securing

14. According to Abd al-Rahman Ibn Zaydan in his book, al-Durar al-fakhirah, p. 94, when Judge al-Runda finished editing Sharh al-Khurashi The Grand Vizier, Bel Yamani sent a copy of the book to Abd al-Rahman al-Barbiri in Rabat for further examiniation. The result was the observation and correction of about fifteen mistakes which were reported back to the Prime Minister.

supplies, among other things.

al-Tayyib Bel Yamani's records show that al-Qabbani, the Egyptian printer, had the the highest salary of about 650 mithqal per month followed by both the editor and the scribe who each received 300 mithqal. Each of the twenty workers made about 70 mithqal per month. In addition, all staff members of the printing establishment received an annual reward in the form of one set of new clothing.[15] al-Qabbani's wage seems very close to the highest paid Moroccan financial officers of the port cities, who received about 720 mithqal per month.[16] The work of both the scribe and the editor was essential to the success of the operation but their pay was less than half the pay of the printer. This was because they worked only when they were needed which was once every six months, the time it took to produce an average volume of 250 pages.[17]

Knowing the fact that Morocco produced only six titles between 1865 and 1871, on an estimated average of 300 copies per title,[18] one

15. al-Tayyib Bel Yamani, op. cit.
16. Naima Touzani, Les "Oumana" au Maroc, p. 139.
17. Fawzi Abdulrazak, Fihris al-matbu'at al-hajariyah fi al-Maghrib, p. 195. This is an annotated bibliography of the Fez lithographic imprints. In this book, one can trace from its chronological arrangement, the period of time required to complete the publication of a book. See also al-Manuni, op. cit., vol. 1 pp. 266-269.
18. This estimate is based on the available information about the highest and lowest number of copies produced per title. For example, al-Tirmidhi's Shama'il was produced in 185 copies (G. Ayache, "l'Apparition de l'imprimerie au Maroc" in Hespéris-Tamuda (1964), pp. 143-161. while Sharh Mayyarah was produced in about 600 copies. According to ibn Zaydan, al-Durar al-fakhirah, p. 93, Sultan Muhammad IV sent 300 copies of this book for distribution by his son, Hasan I, in Marrakesh. In addition, a member of the Qadiri family in Casablanca told me that printers usually produced about 300 copies per title and if they sold their stock another edition was produced. Ahmad ibn abd al-Karim Qadiri was the last lithographic printer in Fez during the French proterctorate.

could suggest that the financial managers of the establishment were running a costly business which resulted in a big deficit. Such results were expected from the sizeable funds spent on rent and importing supplies like ink, paper, stones, etc. from Egypt and Gibralter, via Moroccan commercial representatives in both locations.[19] Accordingly one could speculate that the Moroccan officials either did not care about their costs or they considered the printing establishment to be a long term investment which would eventually recover its expenses.

For six years Moroccans continued financing the establishment which produced good quality books in terms of the paper and ink and the clarity of script which was vocalized as well. As a matter of fact, at this stage, books were produced as good manuscripts not only in terms of format and appearance, but also in value. For example, al-Tuhfah by al-Tasuli, a medium-sized book of 260 pages, was priced at 81 mithqal. This meant that the average worker or intern in the printing establishment had to work over a month to be able to purchase a book.[20] In regard to Sharh al-Khurashi `ala mukhtasar Khalil which was in six folios, the price must have been six or seven times the price of al-Tuhfah. This meant that only the very wealthy among the 'Ulama or members of the royal family could have afforded to purchase the set.

While the government made available free of charge one tenth of the production of each title for the use of al-Qarawiyin Mosque College,[21] it soon came to realize the budren of a continuously increasing inventory. As a result, the Sultan summoned his son, Prince Hasan, to

19. al-Tayyib Bel Yamani, op. cit.
20. Ibn Zaydan, op. cit. Also Ayache, op. cit.
21. al-Manuni, op. cit, vol. 1, pp. 299-302.

Marrakesh to open up a shop for book distribution. Prince Hasan reported back to his father, the outcome and financial details. It seems that he succeeded in distributing 200 out of 300 copies of al-Tuhfah to the public and various Waqf foundations in and around Marrakesh.[22]

Prince Hasan's report also shed some light on the tax collectors (also called `Umana') who seemed to have sold books for the government in Hasan's shop or elsewhere in Marrakesh. It is not known whether or not the Sultan or other government officials tried to establish new distribution shops around the country. One could suggest, however, that the government did not succeed in doing so because as soon as the Egyptian printer returned to his country in 1871, the government abandoned direct supervision of the printing establishment.[23] As we shall see in further detail in the coming chapters, the government preferred to pass the establishment to private hands for a fee and for the privilege of its occasional use. (One could also suggest that when the size of the inventory increased to over two thousand volumes without any hope of reducing this number significantly, the government officials put pressure on the Egyptian printer to return to Egypt.)

al-Tayyib al-Azraq informs us that al-Qabbani returned to Egypt because Abd Allah al-Bukhari, who was the head of the Sultan's newly Westernized army, began to interfere in the management of the printing operation and with the students at the establishment. al-Tayyib also added that Abd Allah was jealous because the Sultan was very generous with al-Qabbani.[24] (The Sultan was indeed generous with al-Qabbani

22. Ibn Zaydan, op. cit.
23. al-Runda, op. cit.
24. Ibid.

who, for financial reasons, extended his stay in Fez an additional two years beyond the date that al-Tayyib and al-Hafruki were declared qualified printers.) But the reality seems to be that the printing establishment was being mismanaged which made Abd Allah's interference possible.

In addition to the financial burdens of the printing establishment, the government was either unwilling to change the nature of the traditional book market, or very likely it had no expertise at hand to do so: therefore it agreed that private citizens like al-Tayyib al-Azraq would handle printing and bear the financial responsibility of the venture. Also, at this period between 1865 and 1871, Morocco's attention was focussed on two major and urgent reforms: the collection of new taxes and the update of its military forces, which meant it had no time for new ventures such as printing.[25]

The Moroccan government could certainly have utilized printing technology to produce scientific or military books as did the Egyptians with the Bulaq press, and as did the Ottomans in the 1780s, but instead they limited the utilization of printing to traditional educational and scholarly purposes. Furthermore, the government could have given printing a strong boost if it had chosen to print the thousands of new financial forms and notebooks (Dafatir) which were required by the new tax collectors chosen as a result of the tax reform. Instead they appointed merchants and other individuals who had little education and often could not even sign their own names, thus would not be able

25. Touzani, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

to use any printed forms.[26] As a result, printing received no direct or indirect support from this significant government reform.

In short, the government's involvement in printing was on the one hand a success in that it brought a new concept of putting together a variety of specialities under one roof to produce a commodity in mass numbers. It also succeeded in producing well prepared and edited texts. The government, however, tried but failed to open new markets or integrate printing into its military and tax reforms which could have brought some economic success to the printing operation. What we have here are two fresh concepts which are characteristics of the era of printing. One is the creation of an organization, and the second is the amplification, in terms of putting the newly created concept or organization to work. At this stage the financial setbacks and lack of business experts in government circles resulted in failure, but the effort continued and the inbuilt impulse for change pressed forward.

B. Phase Two: The Governmment and Printing as a Tool of Propaganda.

When the management of printing changed hands from the government to the private sector, it did not mean that the government began a hands-off policy vis-a-vis printing. In fact, it continued to benefit from printing in more reasonable ways, on an occasional basis without shouldering all its financial burdens. However, the most interesting aspect of such use was the government's desire to produce certain books for the purpose of propaganda.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62, 64-67.

To illustrate the government's sporadic and indirect utilization of printing after 1871 for propaganda purposes, one of the best examples is Sultan Hasan's order in 1882 to print multiple copies of the book Ithaf al-sadah al-muttaqin by the famous 18th century scholar, Murtada al-Zubaydi.[27] The text of Ithaf is the most comprehensive commentary (i.e. Sharh) about al-Ghazzali's well-known book Ihya ulum al-din, which means the revival of religious sciences. What made Ihya and its commentary Ithaf so significant to the Sultan and the 'Ulama in general is the fact that both represented the Ash`ariyah brand of Islamic theology to which all Sunni Muslims in the world adhered. Although followers of Malikiyah might differ from the followers of Hanbaliyah with respect to the details of prayer or Hajj, they held the same Ash'ariyah beliefs confessed or expressed by all the other Sunni Muslims. Therefore, the Ash'ariyah theology is known as `Aqidat ahl al-Sunnah wa al-jama`ah, which means the theology of all Sunni Muslims signifying unity or panislamism.[28]

Another significant point about Ghazzali's Ihya` is that it represented the middle of the road between the Traditionalists (i.e., Ahl al-Hadith) and the Mu`tazilah in that it combined theology and logical thinking. For example, with respect to the Koran, al-Ghazzali and the rest of the Ash`ariyah believed that the Koran was God's eternal word and miracle. But when the Koranic words were pronounced during readings they were created which is the only instance approved by the

27. al-Manuni, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 305-309. Here is the text of the contract between al-Azraq brothers (al-Tayyib and al-Arabi) and the government in reference to producing the text of Ithaf.

28. Montegomery Watt, "Ash`ariyyah" in Encyclopaedia of Islam,, new edition, p. 696.

Traditionalists.)[29]

What interested Sultan Hasan in Ithaf may have been the fact that al-Zubaydi was a Sharif (descendant of the Prophet) and had numerous followers in Morocco who believed in him as one of the great Muslim 'Ulama and mystics. al-Zubaydi revived the teaching of Hadith especially Sahih by al-Bukhari in Egypt, according to the Traditional methods (recitation of each Hadith along with its chain of authorities up to Muhammad the Prophet).[30]

al-Zubaydi's family was originally from Wasit in Southern Iraq, but he was born in Northern India and emigrated to Egypt during the 18th century. He wrote over one hundred books or essays, among which were books like Ithaf and Taj al-`arus in multiple volumes.[31] The famous historian, al-Jabarti, one of al-Zubaydi's students, tells us that, "during the Hajj season, scores of Moroccan pilgrims lined up daily in front of al-Zubaydi's house in Cairo in order to have an audience with him." al-Jabarti also added that Moroccans had a strong belief that al-Zubaydi was a SufiQutb who could tell about the unseen (i.e, the descriptions of Moroccan towns and villages).[32]

> Whenever al-Zubaydi informed his Moroccan visitors about their dwellings, they thought what they saw was Karamah from God, while what al-Zubaydi was doing was informing them what he learned from other Moroccan visitors. This is because al-Zubaydi was in the habit of inquiring from his visitors detailed information about their background and places of residence which he recorded and verified with other visitors.

29. Ahmad M. Subhi, Fi`ilm al-kalam, vol. 1, pp. 429-439, 477-478.
30. Muhammad al-Kattani, Fihris al-faharis, vol. 1, pp. 398-407.
31. Ibid., pp. 407-413.
32. Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti, Aja`ib al-athar, vol. 2, pp. 200-201.

al-Zubadi's popularity in Morocco went beyond the circles of its 'Ulama and the pilgrims returning from Mecca. During the 18th century we find the Moroccan Sultan, Muhammad ibn Abd Allah, corresponding with al-Zubaydi about scholarly matters and providing him with gifts. However, it is not known yet whether or not Sultan Muhammad was corresponding with al-Zubaydi in order to obtain ijazah from him. The Sultan was also deeply interested in the field of Hadith and al-Zubaydi was already known to have given, through correspondence, ijazahs to several Muslim Sultans and rulers, including the Ottoman Emperor, Abd al-Hamid I and other government officials.[33]

In addition to the local factor in printing Ithaf, Sultan Hasan had additional reasons to produce the book in multiple numbers. In the 1880s, Sultan Hasan accomplished one of his most important local goals which was to gain tight control over Moroccan tribes throughout the country. Such a goal was not achieved before he had waged numerous and often brutal campaigns which lasted over twenty years. His heavy-handed internal policy brought him to the attention of both Europeans and other Muslims, especially in Egypt where thousands of Moroccan merchants lived and worked. In "The Times of Morocco," edited and printed weekly by B. Meaken in Tangiers, between 1884 and 1893, there was a complete follow-up of al-Hasan's campaigns. From Cairo, there was biting criticism of Hasan's "ruthless and unIslamic tactics against his own subjects whom he taxed and fined as he wished."[34]

33. Ibid. See also A. al-Kattani, op. cit.
34. al-Manar, vol., 2 (1899), p. 125.

To counteract his critics in the Muslim World, Sultan Hasan saw nothing better than to distribute the rather expensive set[35] of *Ithaf* free among some one hundred and fifty 'Ulama in Egypt and Hijaz as well as in Istanbul. The set of *Ithaf* was extremely rare in the Muslim world. Only two years before *Ithaf* was printed, the Grand Mufti of the Shafi'iyah in Mecca, Ahmad Z. Dahlan, had sent a personal request to Sultan Hasan to have Moroccan scribes produce a copy for him so that the 'Ulama of Islam might benefit from *Ithaf* and remember Hasan's great service to Islam. Hasan not only provided the Mufti of Mecca with a copy, but also made available the work in printed form.[36] What is significant about Sultan Hasan's actions is that he used printing for the first time in Moroccan history as a propaganda tool to improve his image in the Muslim world.

The distribution of *Ithaf* by Sultan Hasan as a gift to the 'Ulama in the East (Cairo, Mecca, Madina and Istanbul) caught the watchful eyes of Europeans. They accurately interpreted the overture by the Sultan to other Muslim nations as his effort to gain their attention and assistance in ridding Morocco of the ever growing interference of Europeans in their internal affairs.[37] What concerned Europeans was the fact that there were already 'Ulama like Ma' al-Aynayn and Muhammad Ja`far al-Kattani who (as we shall see in further detail in the next chapter) had close ties with Ottoman officials and others who promoted the idea that Morocco should rely on Muslim officers instead of Euro-

35. al-Manuni, *op. cit.*, vol.1, pp. 308-309.
36. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 304.
37. Budgett Meakin, *The Land of the Moors*, p. 244. Also Mustapha al-`Alawi, *al-Hasan al-Awwal*, vol. 1, p. 124.

pean Christian experts to reform their army.

The use of printing as a propaganda tool was, in fact, not new to other Muslim rulers, like the Khedives of Egypt, who had used the same methods from the 1820s. Also they used their Bulaq printing establishment to show European visitors that Egypt was on its way to progress by means of modern technology. The Khedives of Egypt gave printed books in scientific or secular topics to European heads of state and diplomats for the same purpose.[38]

In Morocco, however, the focus of the propaganda was essentially Islamic in nature. Moroccans, in fact, wanted to keep their printing activitites out of sight of Europeans, especially since the bulk of their books were on Islamic topics. Even specialized scholars of Moroccan studies, like the Frenchman Levi Provençal, did not know exactly when the Fez printing establishment had been formed, or its exact location in Fez, up until the 1920s, which is eight years after Morocco became a French protectorate.[39] Despite the fact that they utilized printing to export books to the Muslim world for propaganda, Moroccans were at this stage unwilling or unaware of the fact that printing could be used to fend off European propaganda waged against them in newspapers and journals. In one of the issues of _The Times of Morocco_ in 1886, its British editor, Budgett Meaken, informs us that when Sultan Hasan was told that Europeans learned the news of

38. Khalil Sabat, _Tarik_, pp. 178-179.

39. See his _Essai de répertoire chronologique des éditions de Fes_, p. 3. See the discussion about this source in the Introduction.

other nations from newspapers, he was amazed![40] In fact, in 1889, when an Arabic newspaper appeared in Tangiers (The Maghrib) for the first time, its two Christian editors from Lebanon, Isa Faraj and Salim Kasbani, offered their services to the Sultan to become the country's spokesman.[41] The offer was not accepted, but within the next two decades, when Moroccan awareness dramatically increased, the range of propaganda increased to include Europe, as we shall see during the third phase of printing in Morocco.

In short, the government expanded the traditional use of producing books for local propaganda to include the wider Muslim world. Such beginnings were modest but by the turn of the century Moroccans used printing and viewed it as an indispensable tool in their internal and external propaganda efforts.

C. Phase Three: The Government as Regulator of Printing

The third innovation which the use of printing seems to have brought to Morocco is the creation of what is called, "the decree of February 7, 1897"[42] which regulated the activities of printing. This decree, issued by Sultan Abd al-Aziz, included six main points. Here, I will discuss these six points and see in what way they presented a clear departure from the traditional regulations with regard to book production.

When we examine the six points mentioned above, we find them reflecting three major concerns: first the quality of the product,

40. The Times of Morocco, no. 41 (1886), p. 1.
41. al-Manuni, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 359-362.
42. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 310. Here, a xeroxed copy of the 1897 decree is provided by al-Manuni.

second, the protection of publishers and third, the requirement of obtaining permission from the authorities before printing any book. In general, the 1897 regulations were a mixed bag of traditional and modern concerns. For example, the responsibility of carrying out the regulations was handed out to the Muhtasib of Fez (the market inspector) who was instructed by the Sultan to visit printers to inspect the quality of their products. Therefore, in terms of checking quality, the duties of the Muhtasib did not change from the era of the script.[43]

With respect to the second concern which is protecting the interest of publishers, the 1897 regulations touched three points which were entirely new to Morocco. Moroccan publishers at this stage were a group of individuals who were willing to sponsor the publications of books either for charitable uses or for profit.[44] The regulations protected the publishers who wanted not only to recover their expenses, but also to make some profit as well in an increasingly competitive market. The regulations made it clear that "(a) printers shall not reprint the same book twice unless a period of two years has passed from the date of the first printing." (b) "Printers shall not print more than or beyond the number which has been agreed upon with the publishers", and (c) "printers shall not sell books to distributors, instead only publishers shall."

43. According to the decree, the Muhtasib in Fez, at this period, was Muhammad ibn al-Hafid. For the various roles played by the Muhtasib in Fez at this period, see Latifah Bannani, "Watha'iq hawla muhimmat al-Muhtasib bi-Fas" in Majallat Kulliyat al-Adab-Fez, special volume, no. 2 (1985), pp. 403-423.

44. For a detailed discussion about the activities of publishers, see chapter VIII of this study.

So, aside from the clear intention of the law to protect publishers from each other in competition, or protect publishers from the possible mischief of printers, the provisions above provide us with clear evidence of Morocco's attempt to reorganize the traditional system. Printers had to be careful in recording the dates of the books they printed as well as the names of printers and publishers. Previously, recording such information was not consistent as many printers and publishers remained free in deciding whether or not to provide statements about their imprints.[45] The new regulations made it impossible for printers and publishers to undercut each other without consequences. The 1897 regulations stated that "violators would be fined or their licences revoked."

The third concern of the provision above, which required that "publishers shall obtain permission before embarking on any new publication" brings us to another novel aspect of printing in Morocco. which is the birth of censorship in the country. In ancient Rome, the censor was the person who had the duty to supervise public conduct,[46] while in Islam, the person who oversaw public conduct was the Muhtasib.[47]

45. F. Abdulrazak, <u>Fihris al-matbu`at al-ḥajariyah fi al-Maghrib.</u> It is clear from this bibliography that rendering dates and names of printers, publishers, etc. was more consistent after 1897 than before. However, this consistency was effected after 1912 when books often did not include such information. This is possibly because of the French authorities which did not encourage the production of Islamic texts by the 'Ulama in the traditional script.

46. <u>The Oxford English Dictionary,</u> 1978 edition item "censorship."

47. L. Bannani, <u>op. cit.</u>

During the era of printing, the term censor evolved to signify the duty of the government official who inspected books, journals, etc. before publication to insure that they contained nothing immoral, heretical or offensive to the State.[48] In Morocco, the 1897 degree, which specified that publishers or printers had to obtain permission from the judge of Fez to print books, can be considered the first written document about censorship in the country. Here again the provision can be interpreted as an attempt by the Moroccan government to reorganize the traditional duties of both the Muhtasib and the Judge of Fez, by diminishing the duties of the former, while adding to the power of the latter with the privilege of providing licence to both publishers and printers before publishing books.

This reorganization was necessary for a good reason. The government regarded the phenomenon of printing to be very important from its early days when it appointed high ranking professionals to manage it and selected students from the ranks of notable families to be trained as printers. Therefore, it was only practical to appoint the judge of Fez as chairman of the licensing board, since most of the publishers and printers were from powerful Sherifian or notable families who might have easily influenced the decisions of the <u>Muhtasib</u> who was selected for the most part from among the merchant class.[49] For example, in early 1896, the Kattaniyah sanctuary, under the leadership of Abd al-Kabir and Muhammad al-Kattani, was benefitting from the utilization of printing which, through publications of its religious leaders, contri-

48. See note 46 above.
49. L. Bannani, <u>op. cit.</u>

buted to the growth of the sanctuary in terms of exposure, publicity and influence. The Kattaniyah leaders, as we shall see in the coming chapter, were regarded with suspicion by the government in that they were interested in claiming the state for themselves. Therefore, in an effort to control the Kattaniyah leaders, a general regulation came into effect, requiring all 'Ulama to obtain permission from the Judge of Fez, the highest religious authority, and qualified scholar (who worked closely with the Sultan) before utilizing the printing machines.

Finally, there remain two important observations about the decree of 1897. First, it regarded Islamic texts which constituted the bulk of book production up to this period, as another commodity which required inspection by the Muhtasib of Fez. Such a view of Islamic books was inevitable due to the supply of books which started to accumulate in stacks in bookshops, libraries and printing shops.

In the era of the script, both the scarcity of manuscripts and the sacredness of Islamic texts like Sahih al-Bukhari, and the glorious Koran, for example, went hand in hand. Muslims were protective of Islamic script as it signified to them the names of God, or words from the Koran or Hadith and were sacred. But in the era of printing, the mystique and sacredness of the script began to suffer, and Islamic books became just another commodity. The significance of this point is the 1897 decree paved the way for a permanent departure from the traditional script to standardized printed letters which were soon adopted with the arrival of the moveable type printing machines in 1906. Second, the 1897 decree was also a clear departure from the tradition in the sense that the Sultan himself became involved in regulating the

book business and printing. Traditionally, books were among the many concerns of the 'Ulama and Islamic law. As the nature of religious writing became more political, the state had to assume the regulation of printing, as we shall see in further detail when we discuss the final phase of printing in Morocco in the next segment.

In summary, among the changes which the use of printing brought to Morocco was the 1897 decree by Sultan Abd al-Aziz, which introduced censorship and the reorganization of traditional duties of the Muhtasib and Judge of Fez. Above all it paved the way to reconsider the physical sacredness of Islamic script in favor of regarding books as commodities.

D. The Final Phase: The Government as Manager of Printing; the Second Attempt

The fourth and final phase of the government's involvement in printing came during the Reign of Sultan Abd al-Hafiz (1908-1912) when he sought to control the printing machines either by confiscating them or by purchasing all the machines under his jurisdiction. In 1908 there were six known printers in Fez and Tangiers who utilized four or five printing machines.[50] Two or three of the machines were lithographic, while the remainder were moveable type. On the surface, because the new Sultan was a recognized scholar and poet with a speciality in Hadith literature, one could suggest that his move to control printing activities orignated with a desire to revive Islam and Islamic scien

50. The printers who were involved in lithographic printing at this period were Ahmad and al-Arabi al-Azraq, Abd al-Mawla al-Yamlahi, Abd al-Salam al-Dhuwayb, Abu al-Qasim al-Badisi, all of whom were in Fez. As for printers who were involved in the moveable-type printing machines, they were Ahmad Yumni (in Fez) and the Nammur brothers in Tangiers.

ces. However, Morocco in 1908 was not the same as it was in 1865 when printing was under the total control of the government. This is to say that in 1908 the political factors behind the Sultan's actions to control printing became more threatening to the state.

Between 1865 and 1871, printing was utilized mainly to produce educational material.[51] But from 1872 onwards, the private sector, as well as the government, widened the horizon of printing to include scholarly texts in all fields, and more significantly in politics on both the local and international levels. Locally, printers and publishers began giving their attention to the grave dangers which the country was facing as a result of growing European encroachment.

In the 1880s, books or small pamphlets about Jihad (holy war) were printed and circulated in large numbers among the reading public. For example, al-Kardudi's book Kashf al-ghimmah which was written decades previously, found new audiences as publishers printed and reprinted it. al-Kardudi's appeal was for Moroccans to mobilize themselves into an organized, modern army to fight back Europeans and beat them at their own games and with their weapons.[52]

Between 1902 and 1909, Morocco was shaken by the revolt of Bu Himarah who claimed to be Sultan Hasan's older son, Muhammad, and the legitimate heir to Morocco's throne, instead of the younger son, Abd al-Aziz. Bu Himarah's revolt which weakened the government for seven or eight years, brought sharp criticism from the 'Ulama who made their

51. al-Manuni, op. cit, vol. 1, p. 270.
52. Abd al-Salam Ibn Sudah, Dalil mu'arrikh al-Maghrib al-Aqsa, item number 2259. here we learn that al-Kardudi's book was printed in 1885, while in al-Idrisi's Qa'imat al-matbu`at al-Maghribiyah, item

opposition to this pretender and the European powers (i.e., the French) known to the public in a small pamphlet called, "collective advice."[53]

With many current and important issues being echoed in books and pamphlets, the awareness of printing technology as an agent to disseminates political views, grew larger and soon was recognized by the government. In 1905, with the establishment of the Arabic newspaper _al-Sa'adah_ in Tangiers by the French Embassy, Moroccan officials became alarmed especially as the editorials of _al-Sa'adah_ exposed the Sultan's internal policies to the ambivalent Moroccan public.[54] The government's first reaction was to silence the newspaper through diplomatic channels but the government became aware that the only way to respond to _al-Sa`adah_ editorials was to establish its own newspaper.[55] Not having a qualified journalist in the country, nor printers who were specialized in typographical printing, the Moroccan government of Abd al-Aziz persuaded two Lebanese journalists, Faraj and Artur Nummur, to move to Tangiers where they founded Morocco's first newspaper which became known as _The Voice of Morocco_.[56]

52.--- number 948, we learn that the same book was printed twice. No dates of publication are given by al-Idrisi who, despite his occasional errors, was well informed about the Fez imprints. According to al-Manuni, _op. cit,_ vol. 1, pp. 23-25, al-Kardudi died in 1851. Among the other authors whose anti-Western literature was printed and circulated widely were Ma` al-Aynayn and members of the Kattaniyah family. For more on this see Chapters VII and IX of this study.

53. M. Gharrit, _Fawasil,_ pp. 110-120.

54. Zayn al-Abidin al-Kattani, _al-Sahafah fi al-Maghrib,_ vol. 1, p. 145.

55. al-Manuni, _op. cit.,_ vol. 2, pp. 283-284.

56. _Ibid._

In addition to the endeavors of the Nammur brothers in defining Morocco's internal policies and defending them, their newspaper, The Voice of Morocco became an open forum for reform ideas. For example, among such ideas was a provocative suggestion by an anonymous writer to replace Islamic law with a constitution.[57] At this period, between 1905 and 1908, there were two distinct suggestions: one was to model a constitution on the Western style, while the second called for an Islamic constitution patterned in the Ottoman style.[58] What the Ottomans did was to decide on one religious opinion which was most acceptable to all Muslims, and disregard the customary multiple opinions and judgments about the same matter. Thus, they forced one law for all.

It is interesting to note that in 1905 or 6, there was in Fez an Ottoman citizen by the name of Abd al-Karim Murad who drafted such a constitution which the 'Ulama like the Kattanis seemed to be supporting.[59] However, the Murad constitution was never printed in the government newspaper. Instead, the Western-styled constitution was.[60] In fact, The Voice of Morocco seems to have been established to follow the Western line of reform which was compatible with Sultan Abd al-'Aziz's openness towards Europe for new ideas, and as a consumer. This Sultan had the reputation of being a great spender on cameras, bicycles, cars. etc.[61] His openness did not sit well with Moroccans and the traditional 'Ulama, especially when parts of the country like Wujdah and

57. M. H. al-Wazzani, Mudhakkirat, vol. 4, pp. 70-74. Also see Allal al-Fasi, Hafriyyat dusturiyah, p. 16.
58. al-Manuni, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 399-405.
59. Ibid.
60. see note 55 above.
61. Lawrence Harris, With Mulai Hafid at Fez, pp. 74-75.

Casablanca fell to the French. As a result, Sultan Abd al-Aziz was deposed by his half-brother Sultan Abd al-Hafiz who became known among the traditional 'Ulama as al-Ghazi (the conquerer). The new sultan did not conquer anything. This expressed the wishful thinking on the part of the 'Ulama that the new Sultan would restore the old world of Islam to Morocco by ridding the country of European forces and influences.

According to al-Manuni, the Sultan Abd al-Hafiz purchased the printing machine which the Nammur brothers had used to print their newspaper and dismantled and shipped it to Marrakesh.[62] However, in his book, With Mulai Hafid at Fez the British journalist L. Harris informs us that in one of his meetings with Abd al-Hafiz in 1909 in Fez he saw a printing machine inside the palace. Harris also informs us that the Sultan's intention was to establish his own newspaper in Fez by having Harris become its editor.[63] However, instead of founding a newspaper, Sultan Abd al-Hafiz apparently established two printing operations, one lithographic, in the same location as the first government printing office at Zanqat Jaza` Barquqah, and the second, typographic, located at his own palace in Fez.[64]

With the exception of the Nammur brothers, the Sultan employed all the lithographic printers as well as Ahmad Yumni[65] who managed the moveable type, to produce scores of scholarly and religious books, including one by the Sultan himself in which he launched into a severe criticism against the thriving Tijanniyah Sufi order in Fez and the

62. al-Manuni, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 462.
63. Harris, op. cit., pp. 157-158.
64. al-Manuni, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 291-292.
65. For more information about Yumni and his background, see Chapter VIII of this study.

rest of Morocco.[66] What all this tells us is that by confiscating or purchasing printing machines from his opponents or those who served the policies of his deposed brother, Abd al-Aziz, Sultan Abd al-Hafiz was motivated by his own desire to reshape public opinion in the country in his own favor; so the novelty of printing and the changes it helped to bring about were not all positive. Printing became not only a tool to disseminate knowledge and popularize it, but also a tool for the government to impose its own line of thinking.

Aside from the Sultan's wishes to control printing and direct it to serve his own purposes, some of his decisions were detrimental to printing itself. By locating the moveable type in his own palace and utilizing it to print his own works, Abd al-Hafiz marked the beginning of the end for lithographic printing in the country. It is true that Moroccan 'Ulama like al-Balghithi, al-Nasiri, etc. printed their own works by moveable means beyond the 1880's and 1890s, but this took place in Cairo and not in Fez.[67] Also, these 'Ulama were less important than the Sultan who was the spiritual figurehead for all believers in Morocco. Abd al-Hafiz, in particular, held this esteem as he was also considered a true scholar.[68]

The reason why the Sultan selected the moveable type over the lithographic machine, which had come to symbolize Maghrebi script, was the fact that the moveable type was better equipped to produce many more thousands of copies than the lithographic machines. Also,

66. Edmund Burke, Prelude to Protectorate in Morocco, p. 101.
67. al-Manuni, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 316-319.
68. Burke, op. cit. For a list of Abd al-Hafiz's writings, see al-Idrisi, Qa'imat al-mu'allafat, nos., 713-723.

the moveable-type was standardized and at this time legible for both Moroccans as well as other Muslims whom the new Sultan might have wanted to reach through printing. His decision took business away from the various lithographic establishments which had been in action in Fez for decades and weakened the power of the lithographic printers. From 1914 the name of al-Arabi al-Azraq disappeared for good and the same destiny befell the rest of the printers as well. However, during the French protectorate, one or two lithographic printers like Ahmad al-Qadiri remained active, but whatever was printed after 1912 was very small as lithographic printing slowly died out. In 1946, when the last printing machine was presumably destroyed by the French, only a small number of specialists and traditional 'Ulama could read and appreciate lithographic-printed books.

In summary, the government's involvement in printing, which began in 1865 when Morocco's first book was printed and ended in 1912 when the country lost its independence to France, brought many changes to the country. Among those changes was the introduction of a new concept, which was to assemble a variety of talents and professions (printers, scribes, editors, binders, interns, etc) under the same roof and in one centralized organization to produce a product in multiple numbers thereby creating a sizeable inventory. Another change was how to deal with an inventory at all. Books became a commodity for the first time. The Governmental officials, as managers of the printing establishment exhibited good economic judgment in setting up their business near potential markets and making an earnest effort on the

highest level to distribute their product outside Fez, by creating a book distribution center in Marrekech. However, these officials were not accustomed to pricing products, opening new markets, or generally to thinking like businessmen. In addition, they did not attempt to integrate this printing business into their governmental reform programs (upgrading the army or reforming the tax system). As a result, the operation of printing became a burden the government could no longer carry. Thus, printing was handed over to private hands. However, the government officials, namely the three Sultans, Hasan I, Abd al-Aziz and Abd al-Hafiz, continued their involvement in printing. Hasan I tried to improve his image in Cairo, Mecca and Madinah by printing Zubaydi's Ithaf and distributing it free of charge. By doing so, he became the first Moroccan Sultan to utilize printing as a tool for external propaganda. Abd al-Aziz tried to regulate printing by imposing censorship for the first time in Moroccan history. This move was carried even further by Abd al-Hafiz who, as a a result of his awareness of the great power of printing as a political weapon, brought all the available machines in the private sector under his (i.e., governmental) control.

Another important change occurred in Morocco when Sultan Abd al-Hafiz showed his preference for typography over lithography in printing his own scholarly works in great numbers. This preference set the precedent for the 'Ulama to follow suit and abandon not only the traditional Maghribi script but also to bring a gradual and definite end to the use of lithographic printing in Morocco.

In the next chapter I will discuss and analyze the involvement of the 'Ulama in printing to see whether or not their lives and activities were influenced or changed by the utilization of printing.

CHAPTER VII

THE ULAMA AND PRINTING

During the second half of the 19th century, the 'Ulama of Morocco played a variety of roles in their communities throughout the country. They were educators, scholars, notary publics, judges, leaders of the daily or Friday prayers, market inspectors (Muhtasib), orators, time-keepers (Muwaqqit), customs officials (Omana), scribes, and advisors to the Sultan.[1]

In this chapter, I will take up the impact of printing on the 'Ulama in Morocco as writers, editors, scribes and publishers. Furthermore, I will discuss why some of the 'Ulama like al-Siba'i opposed the use of printed books by students and scholars especially when printing changed hands from government control to the private sector.

Between 1864 and 1871 when printing was under the direct control of the government, there was no apparent opposition among the 'Ulama to printing. In fact, just as the 'Ulama and government officials like al-Saffar and al-Amrawi paved the way to adopt printing technology,[2] other 'Ulama like al-Runda, al-Lajja'i and al-Arabi al-Mashrafi supported printing either through their direct involvement as editors or

1. Among the best biobibliographical sources about Moroccan 'Ulama during the nineteenth century, see Abd al-Hafiz al-Fasi, Mu`jam al-shuyukh, Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani, Fihris al-faharis; al-Mukhtar al-Susi, al-Ma'sul and Khilal jazulah; Ibrahim ibn al-Abbas, al-`Ilam; Muhammad Ja`far al-Kattani, Salwat al-anfas; Abd al-Rahman ibn Zaydan's Ithaf and al-Durar al-fikhirah; AbdAllah al-Jirari, al-Ta'lif wa nahdatuh bi al-Maghrib; Abd al-Salam ibn Sudah, Dalil mu'arrikh al-Maghrib al-Aqsa; Abd al-Aziz Bin AbdAllah, Ma`lamat al-fiqh al-Maliki and al-Mawsu'ah al-Maghribiyah; Muhammad Dawud's Tarikh Tituan; and Ahmad al-Nasiri's al-Istiqsa.

2. See Chapter V of this study.

through praising the innovation in public.[3] Support by the majority of 'Ulama was expected for several reasons: A) when the Sultan decided to adopt printing, the 'Ulama had no choice but to follow suit. As al-Nasiri the 19th century historian tells us, "the words of the Sultan were final and the 'Ulama rarely contested them"[4] B) When traditional 'Ulama like Muhammad Haqqi promoted printing, it was unusual for other 'Ulama like him not to follow suit unless there were strong personal or regional reasons for not utilizing printing, especially since most of the 'Ulama acknowledged printing as a formidable weapon to serve the cause of Islam.[5] C) The lithographic machines which were in operation in Fez were not a threat to the traditional Maghribi script or the format of manuscripts which continued as before.

However, around the 1880s, a decade after the management of printing was transferred from the government to the private sector, a unique but meaningful voice emerged from the ranks of the traditional 'Ulama cautioning Muslims about printed books. According to Muhammad al-Siba'i of Marrakesh (d. 1914) "printed books cause the abandonment of memorization, forgetting [Islamic] knowledge and diminishing desire (among students and scholars) to pursue learning."[6]

To understand and appreciate al-Siba'i's position vis-a-vis printed books, one could consider three interrelated reasons for his opposition. The first reason is that al-Siba'i was already a mature

3. Muhammad al-Manuni, Mazahir yaqzat al-Maghrib, vol. 1, p. 270.
4. Ahmad al-Nasiri, op. cit., vol. 9, pp. 192-193. Also E. Burke, "Moroccan 'Ulama, 1860-1912, an Introduction" in Scholars, Saints and Sufis, p. 101.
5. See Chapter IV of this study, the segment on Muhammad Haqqi.
6. A. al-Fasi, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 57.

scholar in the 1880's and did not benefit a great deal from the new technology of printing. He did write several books on jurisprudence and history as well as some other timely topics like the problem of the growing number of Moroccan merchants and notables who were seeking the status of "protege" (protection by Christian states from their own Muslim governments), but the bulk of the benefits (in terms of recognition and increased business) went to the government, the shurafa, and other notables. In addition, al-Siba'i was already famous as a great memorizer who could provide spontaneous answers to religious inquiries in Morocco. However, despite all his achievements al-Siba'i was considered an outsider not only because he was not connected with any of the shurafa, or notables of Fez, but also because his origin was from one of the tribes (i.e., Banu Siba') of Mauritania.[7]

The second reason which is more significant than the previous one, was the fact that al-Siba'i was known for his strict character and uncompromising attitude in regard to the conduct of the government officials whom he accused in his writings of embezzling public funds and other acts of corruption. al-Siba'i also attacked some of the 'Ulama of the time for providing the public with erroneous religious judgments. Furthermore, al-Siba'i was one of two or three 'Ulama who took the trouble to write about the "proteges" whom he equated with "infidels" and who deserved to be put to death.[8] The ranks of such proteges included numerous individuals from Moroccan notable families like Binnis, Binjallun, al-Hulu, etc. It is interesting to note that

7. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 55-61.
8. Ibid.

it was some of these notable families (i.e. al-Hulu) who provided the printers in Fez with paper imported from France or other European countries.[9] Therefore, it is not surprising that al-Siba'i was overlooked by the publishers and printers of Fez who were (as we shall see in further details later) closely associated with the government.

The third reason for al-Siba'i's negative remarks about printed books could very well be his resentment that students and junior scholars were beginning to consult the well edited and prepared printed texts instead of relying on al-Siba'i's knowledge and memory for religious judgments. This resentment stemmed not only from the fact that al-Siba'i's usefulness was threatened but also from the fact that al-Siba'i had labored at least three decades of his life to earn his reputation as a scholar and memorizer of Islamic sciences.[10] On the other hand, the new generation of students and scholars did not have to memorize or travel for knowledge since the needed knowledge was made available to them in well-edited, printed books which were abundant in Marrakesh or other nearby major cities of the country.

Whether al-Siba'i opposed printed books for one or all of the above reasons, the most significant aspect of his expressed concerns about printed books is that it marked the very beginning of a new era when reading and understanding written material replaced memorization

9. Mustapha Bouchara, Immigrations et protections au Maroc; 1863-1894, vol. 1, pp. 74-75; A. al-Abbasi, Ajwibah; B. al-Shabrakhiti, Sharh; A. al-Yusi, al-Mashrib al-amm wa al-khass; and M. Bardullah's Nawazil. The paper of these Fez lithographic imprints bear the official stamp of the paper merchant al-Mahdi al-Hulu and his partner, Bensusan. See also R. Le Tourneau, Fès avant le Protectorat, vol. 1, p. 641, Arabic translation. I have used this edition because it includes updated information by the translators M. Hajji and al-Akhdar Ghazal.

10. al-Fasi, op. cit.

of knowledge as the road to scholarship. The initial result of such a trend might have been erroneous as al-Siba'i himself indicated in his attacks against the 'Ulama of his time,[11] but it paved the way towards the present, modern method of education which relies on thinking and understanding instead of memorization. In Fez it was clear from the overwhelming involvement of the 'Ulama in printing that the Western technology would remain as a permanent aspect of book production in the country.

To illustrate the extent of the influence and changes which the utilization of printing brought to the lives of the 'Ulama we need to examine their roles as scribes, editors, writers and publishers.

I. <u>'Ulama as Scribes</u>

In the field of copying books the utilization of printing introduced mixed consequences for scribes. During the era of manuscripts, copying texts did not follow rigid rules. Instead scribes adhered to a loose set of ethical codes in regard to the quality of ink, paper and the legibility of the script, especially when they duplicated manuscripts for others by contract or informal agreement.[12]

In the era of printing, this medieval approach to copying books was revised. As a result, scribes were limited to copying only from texts edited by qualified 'Ulama.[13] In addition, some scribes were no longer responsible for finding or supplying paper, ink, etc. for their clients because both printers and publishers had their own supplies. The significance of this reorganization is that scribes in the era of

11. <u>Ibid.</u>, Vol. 1, P. 56.
12. See Chapter I of this study.
13. al-Manuni, <u>op. cit.</u>, vol. 1, p. 310.

printing became accountable to the editors, the printers and the publishers who not only provided them with specific assignments but also reviewed the quality and accuracy of their work.[14]

Despite the limits placed on their functions, those scribes who were also scholars were not prevented from copying books for printing. As a matter of fact, those scholars who were able to perform more than one aspect of printing were very attractive to printers and publishers. Hiring one scholar who could both copy and edit was more convenient and economical than hiring two individuals to undertake these tasks. Furthermore, those scholars whose writings were appealing to the reading public were favored more because they provided printers and publishers with clear copies or final drafts written on transfer paper and thus ready for direct printing. Between 1872 and 1912, we find three categories of scribes in Morocco; one group like the three sons of Ibn-Sudah (Muhammad, al-Wafi, and al-Fatimi) who were known as copyists only;[15] a second group like Abd al-Rahman al-Kattani and al-Bu'zzawi who did both editing as well as copying[16] while a third group like Ibn al-Khayyat and Ibn al-Mawwaz, etc.[17] provided printers and publishers with their clean copies which did not require editing or copying.

What all this means is that printing brought into Morocco not only flexibility to printers and publishers who were able to make better deals with scribes, but also advantages to the 'Ulama scribes who were

14. Ibid.
15. F. Abdulrazak, Fihrist al-matbu'at al-hajariyah fi al-Maghrib, pp. 117-118.
16. Ibid., pp. 135-166.
17. Ibid.

also editors, and recommended books for publication. As for scribes who were authors (i.e. Ibn al-Khayyat) their writings constituted a good portion of the circulating literature which existed at this period.[18] However, those privileges were by no means permanent. In 1906, when Moroccans began to open up to the moveable-type printing machines, the shift, interestingly enough, did not generate any objections despite the fact that the new technology did not require any scribes. The lack of objection could be attributed to the fact that the government and the leading 'Ulama themselves needed the new technology. The movable type was first introduced to the country by the Kattani leaders but soon was confiscated by the Sultan to serve his own policies. Furthermore, despite the adoption of the new technology, the old machines continued to function and produce books.[19]

Another significant point to be made about the scribes in the era of printing is that they continued to emerge from the well-established notable and Sharifian families like Ibn-Sudah, al-Kattani, Ibn al-Khayyat, etc.[20] In this regard, the utilization of printing in Morocco seems not to have affected the traditional dominance by these families over scholarship and book production. However, one important novelty is worth noting. In the era of manuscripts, Moroccan scribes mainly served their clients according to their social and economic status in the sense that each social class received a different service

18. Ibid; al-Fasi, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 127-133.
19. See Chapter VIII in which more details about the arrival and activities of the moveable-type press are provided.
20. al-Fasi, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 99-104; Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani, al-mazahir al-samiyah fi al-nisbah al-sharifah al-Kattaniyah.

in terms of quality and aesthetics.[21] This class-oriented copying service was drastically altered or democratized in the era of printing when all scribes were employed by printers and publishers whose overriding aims were to provide identical books in volume to greater numbers of the reading public. In short, the impact of printing on the 'Ulama as scribes could be seen not only in the reorganization of the old methods of book production and division of labor, but also in the acknowledgment of skills and their reward. This acknowledgement along with the attempt by publishers and printers to benefit from the multi-talented and skilled 'Ulama resulted in improving the quality of books and accommodating the needs of the reading public regardless of their social status or economic background. This democratization of knowledge was a clear departure from the traditional ways and was one of the many signs which are characteristic of a modern world.

II. 'Ulama as Editors

The second major function of the 'Ulama which was significantly affected by printing was editing. It is very likely that editing was as old as copying books in Islam.[22] However, unlike copying books, editing was not a profession in the traditional era. Instead, editors were bound to the qualifications of the scribes which differed from one person to another. Guided by Islamic principles, editors in general looked for original texts to make extra copies for themselves or for their professors. In this manner they could obtain diplomas which are

21. See Chapter I of this study.

22. Ruth Mackensen, "Arabic Books and Libraries in the Umaiyad Period" in The American Journal of Semitic Languages, (1936), pp. 245-253.

known as ijazat munawalah.[23]

The aim of editing was to make correct copies and occasionally add explanatory notes in the margins to facilitate the use of the book. These notes were sometimes simple marks to point out chapter headings, sub-chapters, sayings by the Prophet, or Koranic verses, etc. The marginal comments were sometimes important observations about opposing religious views or they just marked linguistic or other forms of errors. However, not all editors kept the textual integrity of the works they edited. Many felt free to change or alter words or sentences whenever they thought the text was not correct.[24]

The significance of these general remarks about the traditional approach to editing is that the same approach was continued into the era of printing by editors in Morocco. However, to repeat one observation made in the previous section, the one significant difference between the traditional period and the era of printing was that editors emerged as "professionals" and their roles took precedence over the function of the scribes. They became the supervisors of the scribes. They selected the books for printing. Accordingly, the 'Ulama as editors rose to prominence as a main force which shouldered the responsibility of reviving the traditional literature and ushering the works by new and contemporary authors to the spotlight. This involvement by the editors in book production brought numerous changes and benefits to their lives.

23. Y. al-Kattani, Madrasat al-imam al-Bukhari, vol. 1, pp. 129-214.

24. A. al-Balghithi, al-Ibtihaj bi-nur al-siraj, vol. 1, pp. 211-257.

To illustrate such benefits it would be useful to look at the activities of one of the exemplary editors of this period. Between 1865 and 1912 there were scores of distinguished editors like Muhammad al-Qadiri (d. 1912), al-Siqqili (d. 1892), al-Mahdi al-Wazzani (d. 1923), Ja'far al-Kattani (d. 1905) and Ahmad al-Bu'Azzawi (d. 1919).[25] The most interesting editor of the period, whose life and activities were a telling example of what the use of printing meant to editors, was Ahmad al-Bu'azzawi.[26] Unlike the other editors who were from powerful sharifian families of Fez, al-Bu'azzawi's family roots went back to an African slave by the name of Ibn Abi Ya'azza. Ibn Abi Ya'azza built himself into one of the greatest Moroccan saints and, as a result, his descendants were regarded as notables.[27] Realizing the significance of genealogy and Sufism in advancing his career and position in society, al-Bu'azzawi wrote a three-volume book about Ibn Abi Ya'azza which very likely helped to consolidate his position at al-Qarawiyin Mosque College as one of its many permanent faculty members and experts in Islamic sciences.[28]

In 1888 when al-Bu'azzawi was thirty four, he showed an interest in printing, not as an editor, but as a publisher. Publishing at this time meant financing a book or more for publication. It is interesting to note that al-Bu'azzawi seems to have financed Gannun's book, _al-Nisbah al-sharifah_ which is about the sharifian origins of its author. However, because Gannun's claim to sharifian origin was a matter of

25. Abdulrazak, _op. cit.,_ pp. 164, 152-153, 180, 165, 135-136.
26. al-Fasi, _op. cit.,_ vol. 1, pp. 111-116.
27. _Ibid.,_ p. 112.
28. _Ibid._ al-Jirari, _op. cit._ Vol. 1, p. 79.

controversy[29] al-Bu'azzawi's venture as a publisher suffered. He never repeated his publishing venture. Instead, he turned his focus to a less risky and more consuming aspect of printing, which was editing.

Between 1889 and 1906, al-Bu'azzawi worked mainly for two printer-publishers (al-Arabi and al-Badisi). During the same period he managed to edit fourteen major works in twenty-six volumes including the famous twelve volume set of al-Mi'yar by al-Wansharisi (fl 17th century).[30] What is important about al-Bu'azzawi's editorial activities is not only the fact that he selected a set of basic and highly regarded religious and other texts for editing, but also the fact that his activities as editor created a growing interest in collecting books. What might have ignited such an interest was the competition with other editors to find good quality books with wide appeal to the scholarly and reading public. al-Bu'azzawi succeeded in distinguishing himself as one of Morocco's best book collectors whose private library consisted not only of the books he edited or wrote, but also rare material which he purchased or copied while conducting his searches.[31]

In the era of manuscripts one needed to be very wealthy like the sharifs of Wazzan or members of the Royal family to be capable of building a private collection.[32] But, in the era of printing, the profession of editing for printers or publishers made it possible for 'Ulama like al-Bu'azzawi to build their own libraries and possibly

29. al-Fasi, op. cit, vol. 2, pp. 168-173.
30. Abdulrazak, op. cit. pp. 135-136.
31. al-Fasi, op. cit., al-Jirari, op. cit.
32. See Chapter I of this study. According to Yusuf al-Kattani, the prominant Kattaniyah family of Fez accepted books as a dowry for marriage. See his Madrasat al-imam, vol. 2, p. 11.

develop a reading and research habit at their own homes instead of attending the various mosque colleges in the country for the same purpose.

Although al-Bu'azzawi's example provides us with the earliest and clearest example to mark the beginning of a change in reading and research habits among the 'Ulama editors, we still don't have enough details to see the extent of the change among other editors who were not from the sharifian families and who did not own private collections or had access to them. However, judging from the fact that such a reading habit is common among modern scholars, one therefore could attribute the emergence of such habits during the era of printing especially in the late 1880s when Moroccans in the major cities were going through a period of prosperity[33] which encouraged the importation of additional printing machines, the distribution of more books, and the hiring or more editors.[34]

Finally, the most important change which the use of printing brought to the editors was that it made them the guardians and overseers of the entire book production in the country. This guardianship which was approved and supported for the most part by the government, resulted in directing the intellectual and educational activities towards a revival of the traditional literature and Islamic themes (a point which I will discuss further in the final chapter). Here also, without the agent of printing which necessitated the restructuring of

33. Afa Umar, Mas'alat al-nuqud fi al-Maghrib, p. 127; al-Nasiri, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 124.
34. See Chapter VIII of this study.

the old ways, the editors would not have been able to emerge as a major power directing the flow of information in the country.

III. *'Ulama as Authors*

The third aspect of the 'Ulamas' involvement in printing was as authors. The term author in the modern sense encompasses the writing of literature, or creative works. In the medieval sense it meant the occupation or career of writing essays and books of non-fiction. Here my discussion will be limited to the 'Ulama as authors in the medieval sense to see how printing affected or changed their careers. (In the final chapter I will take up the question of whether or not printing affected or influenced creative writing).

From 1865 to 1912 there were in Morocco over seventy different authors who participated in printing activities through writing books and articles.[35] Among the most famous authors of the time were 'Ulama like Ahmad al-Balghithi (d. 1929); Ahmad Sukayyrij (d. 1943), Abdallah ibn Khadra (d. 1905), Muhammad Akinsus (d. 1877), Ahmad al-Nasiri (d. 1897), Abd al-Salam al-Hiwari (d. 1910), Abd al-Rahman Zaydan (d. 1946) and several members of the Kattani, Gannun, and Ma al-Aynayn families.[36]

One of the interesting and telling aspects of the 'Ulama's involvement as authors in printing was perhaps in the area of *Taqriz* writing. The term, *Taqriz* means to praise or commend in the form of writing,or orally, whether in prose or poetry. The intention of *Muqriz*

35. This number is based on the authors who published their books in Fez between 1865 and 1940 with lithographic printing machines. This does not include Taqriz writers or editors who did not publish books or pamphlets. For a list of such authors see Abdulrazak, *op. cit.,* pp. 110-186.

36. *Ibid.*

(i.e. the praise writer) was to commend authors on the completion of their books or pamphlets.[37] Traditionally Taqriz literature appeared in the colophon which is the ending remarks section of manuscripts where editors or scribes recorded some of the valuable information about the manuscripts at hand.

In the era of printing the same old tradition of rendering Taqriz in books continued but not without a few visible and significant changes. One such change was the expansion of the locality of the Muqrizes. In the era of manuscripts the service-oriented book trade limited both the size and locality of Taqriz to the number of 'Ulama who happened to live in any given city or town where a particular manuscript was copied or produced. Therefore, whatever Taqriz we find in old manuscripts reflects the writings or sentiments of local 'Ulamas or whatever the scribes or editors might have heard about the book previously. In the era of printing when the nature of the book market shifted from service to inventory, a new trend in regard to Taqriz literature began to emerge. The production of multiple copies of the same book made it easier and faster for printers and publishers to solicit Taqriz from the 'Ulama not only in the same city where the book was printed, but also from distant lands.[38]

Another important development also took place. In the era of printing Taqriz literature was no longer a simple way to express one's

37. E. Lane, Madd al-qamus, an Arabic-English Lexicon, item "Qarada." Lane points out here that "Qarada" also means to criticize. But none of the Fez imprints included criticism in the books or pamphlets where Taqriz was rendered. Such criticism came in the form of praising other texts which expressed the opposing views.

38. See Notes 40-49 below.

admiration for the achievement of the 'Ulama by his colleagues or admirers. Instead it emerged as a formidable tool of publicity, and religious and political propaganda. With the absense of newspapers and other means of modern publicity, Moroccan printers and publishers encouraged Taqriz literature and utilized it to market their products.

It is interesting to note that from 1865 until 1871 when printing was under the government's control in Morocco, none of the books included any Taqriz literature,[39] but from 1872 on the private printers and publishers used it as a tool to make their businesses successful. From that time the colophons of the Fez imprints were loaded with scores of Taqriz literature written by the leading 'Ulama in Morocco; among them were Ahmad ibn al-Khayyat,[40] Ahmad ibn al-Mawwaz,[41] Muhammad al-Tahir al-Fasi,[42] Ja'far al-Kattani[43] and Abd al-Hadi al-Siqilli,[44] from the city of Fez and others like Muhammad Takrur,[45] Sidi al-Atiq,[46] Muhammad al-Al,[47] al-Mufadda al-Susi[48] and al-Sadiq al-Nayfar[49]

39. al-Manuni, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 266-269; Abdulrazak, op. cit., p. 187.

40. The colophon of the following books provides sample Taqriz; A. al-Lajja's Bayan al-ghalat wa al-tawbah; U. al-Habbabi's Taqyid fi bayan hukm sujud al-tilawah; and al-Mahdi al-Wazzani's Hashiyah 'ala sharh al-Tawudi 'ala Ibn Asim.

41. See the colophons of al-Kardudi's Khashf al-ghimmah and Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani's Mufakahat dhawi al-nubl wa al-ijadah.

42. See the colophons of A. al-Subayhi, Asbab usul and A. al-Kattani, Mufahat dhawi al-nubl.

43. A. Ibn al-Khayyat, Raf` al-lijaj wa al-shiqaq, the colophon.

44. See the colophons of Z. al-Iraqi's al-Khatm al-Mubarak, and al-Mahdi al-Wazzani, Hashiyah `ala sharh al-Tawudi.

45. M.M. Ma' al-Aynayn, Sahl al-murtaqa, and Majmu' mushtamil 'ala arba' ta'alif, the colophon.

46. Ibid. al-Madhi al-Wazzani, op. cit, the colophone.

47. Ibn al-Khayyat, op. cit.; al-Mahdi al-Wazzani, op. cit.

48. Ibn Sudah, Takmil tahrir al-maqal; the colophon.

49. A. al-Kattani, al-Bayan al-mu'rib; the colophon.

who were from various parts of Morocco like Meknes, Wazzan and Marrakesh, and regions outside the country like Mauritania, the Western desert and Tunisia.[50]

It is not clear yet whether the publishers or printers compensated the Muqrizes in cash with free copies or whether they were satisfied simply with the recognition. Whatever the case might have been, one could suggest that printing was an aid to both publishers and printers, as well as the Muqriz writers in terms of publicity, recognition, and possibly some form of compensation.

However, what is significant about Taqriz literature was its utility in publicizing authors and books within the greater Malikiyah regions in North Africa and its function as a forum to voice religious or political views through praising or supporting this or that author. At hand we have two vivid examples. The first one is from 1910 when the famous sharifian author and politican 'Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani wrote his reknowned essay Mufakah. Its publisher, Ahmad al-Tayyib al-Azraq, rushed to obtain Taqriz from three political and religious leaders in the country, Ibn al-Mawwaz (writer and minister to Sultan Abd al-Hafiz), Abd al-Hafiz al-Fasi, and al-Abbas al-Tazi who were notable 'Ulama and judges of the time.[51]

The essay by al-Kattani was a refutation of a political editorial which appeared in the French-Arabic newspaper "al-Sa'adah" ridiculing the shift in support by the 'Ulama in Morocco from the deposed Sultan Abd al-Aziz to Sultan Abd al-Hafiz who overthrew his brother in 1908.

50. See notes 40-49 above.
51. See notes 41 and 42.

To prevent damage to the 'Ulama's reputation and position in the eyes of the reading public in Morocco, al-Kattani's essay along with three _Taqriz_ pieces were reprinted several times and read in public at an official feast held at the house of the Sultan's representative in Fez, Abd al-Salam al-Amrani.[52]

The other example of the novelty of using _Taqriz_ literature to support religious views is the colophon of al-Mahdi al-Wazzani's essay, _Bughyat al-Talib_ printed in Fez in the 1890s. al-Wazzani expressed his judgment that it was legal to hold the annual al-'Id prayers in local mosques (masjids). This judgment was a refutation of a previous judgment by another 'Alim from Fez who saw that al-Id prayers should only take place in the Grand Mosque (al-Masjid al-Jami') because the intention of al-Id prayers was to bring together all the faithful into one place. To calm the doubts of the public about the legality of al-Id prayers in local mosques several distinguished 'Ulama and judges (like al-Iraqi and al-Tazi) from both Fez and Meknes wrote their _Taqriz_ in support of al-Wazzani's judgment.

In short, _Taqriz_ literature was one of the traditional tools to express admiration for books, but its effectiveness had previously been limited to places where books were copied. However, with the utilization of printing, the effectiveness of _Taqriz_ literature was dramatically increased and changed as publishers and printers began to solicit _Taqriz_ from distant lands. This new use not only assisted

52. al-Fasi, _op. cit._, vol. 1, pp. 63-68 which contains a brief biography of al-Amrani. See also notes 40-42 above.

publishers to publicize their books and market them in wider regions, but also it helped the 'Ulama to become widely known and possible recipients of compensation, or at least free copies of books, for their services. Taqriz literature also became a forum for the 'Ulama to voice their religious or political persuasions, all of which could not have emerged and developed without the aid of printing technology.

The changes which printing brought to the lives of 'Ulama who were also writers was yet greater. To illustrate such changes the most important example is the life and activities of Ma' al-Aynayn (d. 1910).[53] Ma' al-Aynayn's activities and writings were a good reflection of the print culture in terms of documentation of knowledge and the preservation and collection of data. In reviewing his works we see the limitations of printing technolgoy as a tool and the environment in which printing could be the most productive and influential.

Ma' al-Aynayn (whose real name was Muhammad Mustafa ibn Muhammad Fadil ibn Mamyin al-Qalqami) was born in 1830 in the Southern Hawd region of Mauritania.[54] He was the twelfth child of forty-eight brothers. The father, Muhammad Fadil, was an established Sufi and Sharifian leader in the Qadiriyah order. Because of his wide following his order became known by his name, al-Fadiliyah. This same thing happened to Ma' al-Aynayn whose order became known as al-Ma' Ayniyah.[55] What seems to have distinguished Ma' al-Aynayn from his numerous brothers is the fact that he was singled out to be sent to Fez for

53. B.G. Martin, Muslim Brotherhoods in Nineteenth-Century Africa, pp. 125-151.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.

further education.[56] However, no one yet knows when Ma' al-Aynayn went to Fez and who, among the Moroccan 'Ulama, taught him. In addition, Ma' al-Aynayn's biographers inform us that he met both Sultan Abd al-Rahman and later on his son, Sultan Muhammad IV, on his visits to Mecca for pilgrimmage.[57] Here again, no one knows for sure why Ma' al-Aynayn made the effort to meet the Sultans nor why the Sultans granted him an audience. But if such information is accurate, one can assume that such a meeting and relationship between the Sultans and Ma' al-Aynayn was beneficial to both parties because, as Ma' al-Aynayn's record indicates, he was an emerging leader who needed both moral and economic support to expand upon the social and religious base which he had inherited from his father.

It is very likely that the Sultans were cultivating Ma' al-Aynayn to defend the southern borders of the country against any further European penetration. This is especially true of Muhammad IV who lost the Tetuan war to Spain and was forced to concede a commercial post on the shores of the desert.[58] He realized the military and political value of Ma' al-Aynayn as a defender of Morocco and Islam in the desert and he, and those officials who came after him, paved the way for Ma' al-Aynayn to become the country's most celebrated religious and intellectual leader. As a result, the cause of printing, printers and printed books acelerated a great deal because the technology was put

56. Muhammad Zarif, _al-Hayat al-adabiyah fi al-zawiyah al-Ma'ayniyah,_ vol. 1, p. 109.
57. al-Fasi, _op. cit._ vol. 2, pp. 37-46.
58. Abd al-Wahhab Bin Mansur, _Hafriyyat Sahrawiyah,_ pp. 69, 81.

to use (as we shall see below) to make Ma' al-Aynayn a great phenomenon in the country.

The other significant aspect of Ma' al-Aynayn's background and contacts with Moroccan Sultans is that up to 1890, he succeeded in building up his power base and popularity in the desert without the aid of printing technology.[59] To review the means upon which Ma' al-Aynayn built his religious strength in the desert is very important because it illustrates the basis upon which he made his thrust into the minds and hearts of his people in the desert and for the same matter into Moroccan religious and political circles as well. Such a review should also make clear the limitations of printing as a tool in the dissemination of knowledge and its preservation.

When the activities and writings by Ma' al-Aynayn are examined one can easily observe a few obvious factors which contributed to his success as a dominant religious and intellectual leader in his desert environment. One of these factors was his social connections. In addition to his father being a widely recognized religious leader, he had help from forty-seven brothers who spread his influence in the desert. Ma' al-Aynayn is also believed to have married over one hundred wives[60] in the same style as Muhammad the Prophet, apparently to unite the numerous tribes in the desert and their various branches. According to M. Zarif who wrote his thesis about the religious

59. Zarif, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 82. This includes a xeroxed copy of a letter sent by Sultan Hasan I to the Omana in al-Suwayrah, asking them to put Ma' al-Aynayn's name in their payroll. This letter is dated 29 April, 1887, and is the oldest source in which Ma' al-Aynayn's name appeared in Moroccan records.

60. al-Susi, al-Ma'sul, vol. 4, p. 97.

sanctuaries of Ma' al-Aynayn in Morocco, it was with this unity that Ma' al-Aynayn brought these tribes under his control and worked to fend off the Europeans from venturing into the desert.[61] In fact, when a local chieftan in the region of Adrar made a solitary agreement with Spain to allow its citizens to make commercial contact with the interior, Ma' al-Aynayn attacked the Spanish post in Adrar.[62] He also wrote his essay, Irshad al-hayara fi amr al-Nasara (Guiding the Bewildered about Christians) in which he recommended that Muslims should not trust Christians because they don't enter any Muslim country without controlling it later.[63]

The second factor which contributed to Ma' al-Aynayn's success in the desert was his educational or religious activities. With his success in the social arena, and with continued economic supplies arriving from the Moroccan political capital of Marrekesh,[64] Ma' al-Aynayn built a permanent camp in al-Summarah in the late 1870s or early 1880s.[65] In this camp Ma' al-Aynayn set up a large library by desert standards, consisting of some four hundred volumes stacked in boxes and housed in a large tent under the management of one of his wives or concubines.[66] Supported by his private collection and vast knowledge of Islamic sciences, he attracted scores of students from all parts of the desert who were not only sheltered and fed in his camp, but also

61. Zarif, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 54, 75, 79, 105.
62. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 46.
63. Ibid.; Abdulrazak, op. cit., pp. 173-174.
64. Martin, op. cit., p. 136.
65. Zarif, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 44.
66. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 124-126, 130.

educated and, upon graduation, appointed as his assistants and lieutenants to roam the desert as teachers or spies collecting information about European attempts to explore the interior.[67]

At his camp, Ma' al-Aynayn provided his followers (estimated at 10,000 in number)[68] with food and shelter and religious services in the form of writing charms and "Hizb" literature to protect them from illnesses, poverty, and to bring them wealth and prosperity.[69] To his followers Ma' al-Aynayn was a true saint (i.e. Qutb) who could communicate with the unseen, who wrote letters to distant lands from where caravans of supplied arrived. What all this meant is that Ma' al-Aynayn, in fact, did not need or utilize printing technology or even printed books to become the supreme ruler of the desert.

Despite his wide success as an author (of presumably over three hundred books and pamphlets),[70] Ma' al-Aynayn's reputation and writings remained limited to the desert communities up to 1891 when his writings began to be circulated in rest of the country via the agent of printing. It took Ma' al-Aynayn about forty-five years of religious activities and scholarly writings before his works made their way into the cultural center of Fez and from there to other cities in Morocco. As a matter of fact, without the agent of printing and the fertile environment in which printing emerged at that time, his writings might not have reached the greater Moroccan audience. Without printing, we

67. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 12.
68. Martin, op. cit.
69. Zarif, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 238.
70. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 126-127, 155.

would have lost the bulk of his writings. (His unpublished works remain to this day unexplored either because they are lost or scattered in various parts of the desert among his numerous descendants.)[71] All his printed books have been preserved and proved to be indispensable in documenting his rise to power and influence from 1891 to 1900 as a widely celebrated religious leader and scholar in Morocco.

When the colophons of Ma' al-Aynayn's printed books are carefully examined we find the name of Ahmad ibn Musa (d. 1900) repeated as the one who ordered their publications and the one who financed them.[72] By discussing the relationship between Ma' al-Aynayn and Ahmad ibn Musa, we might be able to pinpoint one of the major reasons why Ma' al-Aynayn - and for the same matter - printing, became widely spread in Morocco from 1891 onwards. Ahmad ibn Musa was the Chamberlain (i.e. Hajib) for Sultan Hasan up to 1894, and Morocco's Grand Vizier for Sultan Abd al-Aziz until 1900.[73] What is most interesting about Ibn Musa is that as the Chamberlain to the Sultan he was engaged in a heated struggle for power with Sultan Hasan's Grand Vizier, al-Jami'i, who was also the Sultan's uncle. The origin of the struggle between the two men went back to the early years of Sultan Hasan's reign in the 1870s when Abd Allah ibn Ahmad al-Bukhari,[74] who was Ibn Musa's uncle, was removed from his post as head of the new army originally organized by Sultan Hasan's father, Muhammad IV, in early 1860 and given to al-Jami'i's

71. Ibid.
72. Abdulrazak, op. cit.
73. M. Gharrit, Fawasil al-juman, pp. 82-89.
74. This is the same person who pressured the Egyptian printer, al-Qabbani, to leave Morocco for Egypt. See A. al-Runda, Hadith ma'a al-Tayyib al-Azraq. one page, unpublished document.

younger brother. Furthermore, as Muhammad Gharrit, who was one of the contemporary writers and politicians informs us, al-Jami'i's was "constantly harrassing Ibn Musa and holding him accountable for every little or big matter."[75]

For Ahmad ibn Musa, who was an African and probably of slave origin,[76] the rise in popularity and prestige of another African leader, Ma' al-Aynayn, as the defender of Islam and of Morocco, and as supreme religious leader and scholar, was very useful for consolidating his position in the eyes of the Sultan, and for achieving his political ambitions with Ma' al-Aynayn's spiritual backing. To succeed in his aim, Ahmad ibn Musa seems to have helped Ma' al-Aynayn to establish an organizational structure for himself in the form of several religious sanctuaries.[77] The main sanctuary was located in Fez while the other branches were scattered throughout the country from al-Suwayrah and Marrakesh in the South, to Sala and Rabat in the Center, and Tetuan and Mililya in the North.[78] The main office in Fez was managed by Ahmad ibn al-Shams (d. 1923) who was one of Ma' al-Aynayn's students from Mauritania.[79] Ibn al-Shams' role, as the colophon of the Fez imprints

75. Gharrit, _op. cit._

76. According to Gharrit, _op. cit._ the family of Ahmad ibn Musa was from Berber and slave (mawla) origin. Also, al-Alawi in his _al-Hasan al-Awwal_, p.. 193 states that Ibn Musa's mother was Jewish. However, because Ibn Musa's family was associated with the Abid al-Bukhari [slavesoldiers] since the time of Sultan Sulayman in 1820, and because the family is often called by the name al-Bukhari, it is very likely that the origin of the family is African, possibly from Mauritania, or another West African country despite the fact that Ibn Musa was not dark skinned.

77. Zarif, _op. cit.,_ vol. 1, p. 55.

78. _Ibid._

79. al-Fasi, _op. cit.;_ Zarif, _op. cit.,_ vol. 1, pp. 125-127.

show, was to provide permission to whoever wanted to publish Ma' al-Aynayn's writings. In addition, between 1891 and 1912 he edited and directly financed at least fifteen different titles by Ma' al-Aynayn.[80]

Another significant accomplishment by Ahmad ibn Musa for Ma al-Aynayn and the cause of printing is that he broke up the monopoly on printing held by the Azraq brothers through encouraging others like al-Yamlahi and al-Dhuwayb to establish their own printing operations (for more details see the next chapter). Here again Ibn Musa's overriding aim was to speed up his propaganda campaign to popularize Ma' al-Aynayn. Between 1891 and 1900 a good portion of the books printed in Morocco were the writings of Ma' al-Aynayn. The question of whether or not Ibn Musa succeeded through the utilization of printing in promoting Ma' al-Aynayn brings us to yet another important factor without which both the popularity of Ma' al-Aynayn and printing would not have been successful. This factor was the readiness of various elements in cross-sections of Moroccan society to appreciate Ma' al-Aynayn and his writings.

Among such elements were the upper echelon of Moroccan society which rushed to capitalize on Ma' al-Aynayn's growing popularity. For example, in addition to Ibn Musa who declared himself a member in Ma' al-Aynayn's religious order, other high officials like the Sultan's brother, Abd al-Hafiz, along with the Muhtasib of Sala, Muhammad al-Sabihi, and other leading 'Ulama like Ibn al-Khayyat and al-Mahdi al-Wazzani, asked and obtained Ijazahs (diplomas) from Ma' al-Aynayn.[81]

80. Abdulrazak, op. cit.; Zarif, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 12.
81. al-Fasi, op. cit.; Zarif, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 12.

With such recognition and significance given to Ma' al-Aynayn, scores of 'Ulama composed poems in praise of his enduring qualities. These poems, along with his biographical accounts, were compiled and printed in Fez for the reading public.[82] In addition, the 'Ulama like Abd al-Rahman and Ja'far al-Kattani spent several years of their lives in editing or copying Ma' al-Aynayn's books and preparing them for publication.[83] Both printers and publishers like al-Arabi al-Azraq,[84] al-Yamlahi[85] and al-Dhuwayb[86] also capitalized on the growing phenomenon by publishing and circulating additional works by Ma' al-Aynayn which came to constitute about one quarter of what the three main printers produced in Fez between 1891 and 1900.[87]

Another important factor which contributed to his surging popularity was his strong political appeal to the other Sufi orders, especially the Kattaniyah and its dynamic leaders, Abd al-Kabir and his two sons, Muhammad and Abd al-Hayy. What attracted the leaders of the Kattaniyah to the political ideology of Ma' al-Aynayn was the latter's call in his books, _Mufid al-rawi_ and _Mubsir al-mutashawwif_ for a general brotherhood among all Sufi orders, both on the local and universal levels. To achieve his aim, Ma' al-Aynayn presented a pragmatic

82. _Majmu' ishtamala 'ala sab' fada il fi madh Ma' al-Aynayn_ [poems in praise of Ma' al-Aynayn], by Abd al-Rahman al-Kattani, Abd Allah al-Fasi, Muhammad al-Alawi, Abd al-Wahid al-Fasi, Abd Allah al-Qabbaj, and Ahmad al-Za'imi.
83. Abdulrazak, _op. cit._, pp. 166-167.
84. _Ibid._, pp. 127-129.
85. _Ibid._, pp. 185-187.
86. _Ibid._, p. 144.
87. _Ibid,_ pp. 190-195.

solution to all Sufi orders to utilize a unified *Hizb* literary format combining the major *Hizbs* utilized by most of the Sufi orders.[88]

The term *Hizb* means party or group. In the religious sense it signifies the sixtieth portion of the Koran.[89] However, to the Sufi orders *Hizb* meant a few lines or pages of prayers or devotional literature composed by their leaders, contemporary or ancient. Therefore, each Sufi group recited or chanted its own *Hizb* which united the group and served to distinguish it from other groups not only because each group had different *Hizb* authors, but also because each differed in terms of intensity, devotion and thus in religious superiority.

Although the leaders of the Kattaniyah composed their own *Hizb* literature, and even their own dance movements,[90] they all embraced Ma' al-Aynayn's ideology and publicized his works through the printing establishment of al-Dhuwayb, one of the activist members of the order. As was mentioned before, two leading members of the Kattaniyah family, Abd al-Rahman and Ja'far, were among the 'Ulama who participated in editing numerous works by Ma' al-Aynayn.[91] One good reason why the Kattani's embraced Ma' al-Aynayn's ideology was the fact that there was

88. Ma' al-Aynayn, *Mufid al-rawi,* p. 4. Also, according to A. Bannani, *Ithaf al-inayah,* p. 110, Ma' al-Aynayn's main goal was to unite the various Moroccan orders into one.

89. Lane, *op. cit.,* item, "Hizb" or "Hazaba".

90. Abd al-Kabir al-Kattani, *Nujum al-muhtatid.* This text which is by the founder of the Kattaniyah Zawiyah describes the characteristic of the dance motions performed during worship. In their dance, the Kattanis stamped their feet on the ground and while one leg was lifted up they shook their bodies, stamped and shook. Also the Kattanis refrained from knocking on doors before entering. Instead, they yelled "Allah is great" to make known their presence.

91. See Note 83 above.

a political vacuum in Morocco between 1894 and 1900 when the Grand Vizier, Ahmad ibn Musa, took all the State's power into his own hands by designating the succession of the Sultan's youngest son to the throne above his older brothers, Muhammad and Abd al-Hafiz.[92] It is interesting to note that in 1897, when Ahmad ibn Musa sensed the emerging popularity of the Kattaniyah order, he moved to test the political intentions of Muhammad al-Kattani and ironically called upon Ma' al-Aynayn to decide the fate of al-Kattani. The latter, realizing the value of the Kattaniyah order in promoting his ideas and books, set al-Kattani free. al-Kattani proceeded to become more active than before, until his death at the hand of Sultan Abd al-Hafiz, in 1910.[93]

Another telling example about the utility of Ma' al-Aynayn to the Kattaniyah leaders was the latter's anti-European sentiments and call for his fellow Moroccans to cooperate with the Ottoman Sultans and use their experts and lines of reform instead of Europeans. Such a call was repeated in Ma' al-Aynayn's publications like _Mubsir al-mutashawwif_ in which he described the Ottoman Sultans as "the cream of all the Sultans, and their empire as the cream of all the States. [This is so] because they fight the [negative] principles of men among the French, English and other infidels and adulterers."[94]

92. Gharrit, _op. cit._; al-Alawi, _al-Hasan al-Awwal_, p. 193. Gharrit draws attention to the fact that Ibn Musa and two of his relatives who held high positions in the government of Sultan Abd al-Aziz, died around the same time. But he did not elaborate. However, al-Alawi indicates that Ibn Musa and his two relatives were poisoned to death by the Royal family.

93. Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani, _al-Mazahir_, vol. 1, pp. 788-93; Burke, "Moroccan 'Ulama" in Keddie, _Scholars, Saints, and Sufis_, p. 111.

94. See vol. 2, p. 176.

To the leaders of the Kattaniyah such anti-European statements were strong enough to promote their own calls to replace European experts in Morocco with Ottoman advisers. As a matter of fact, most of the leading members like Ja'far al-Kattani and both his sons, Abd al--Rahman and Muhammad, as well as Abd al-Kabir al-Kattani and both his sons, Muhammad and Abd al-Hayy, had strong contacts with various Arab 'Ulama from the East who were at the service of the Ottoman government. Such 'Ulama were Ba Fadl al-Hadrami and Abu al-Huda al-Sayyadi who were directors of the Panislamic committee in Istanbul promoting universal unity among all Muslim Sufi orders.[95] The Kattaniyah leaders also had

95. The Istanbul Panislamic Committee consisted of four leaders; Ba Fadl al-Hadrami, Shaykh As`ad Efindi, Abu al-Huda al-Sayyadi and Dafir al-Madani. Each leader was responsible for one or multiple orders in a given region of the Muslim world. For example, Ba Fadl was responsible for Southern Arabia, Eastern Africa and the coast of Malabar in India where the Alawiyah order was predominant. Just as Ma' al-Aynayn and the Kattaniyah leaders called for unity among all Sufi orders and utilized combined Hizb literature, this Committee ascribed to the same principles. There was a strong relationship between the Ottoman 'Ulama and Ma' al-Aynayn or the Kattaniyah leaders. In addition to the information available in <u>Mubsir al-mutashawwif</u> by Ma' al-Aynayn (see note 94 above), this religious leader informs us in his book, <u>Na't al-bidayat</u>, p. 40 that "when he [i.e., Ma' al-Aynayn] visited Mecca he was received by an individual called Abd al-Rahman Efendi who gave him many precious gifts and told him that he had seen the Prophet in his dream. The Prophet told him about Ma' al-Aynayn and his father and that he [the father] is the Prophet's representative on earth."

Similar tactics were utilized by the Ottoman 'Ulama in Mecca with religious leaders from East Africa who, upon their return to their homelands, revolted against the Europeans. See Martin, "Notes on some members of the learned class of Zanzibar and East Africa in the Nineteenth Century" in <u>African Historical Studies</u>, vol. IV, no. 3 (1971), pp. 525-545. As for the relations between the Kattaniyah leaders and members of the Panislamic Committee, we read in <u>al-Mazahir al-samiyah</u> by Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani, that his father, Abd al-Kabir received <u>ijazah</u> (diploma) from Ba Fadl al-Hadrami in the Alawiyah order. Also, he had met Ba Fadl in Mecca (see <u>Fihris al-faharis</u>, vol. 2, p. 140.) Furthermore, according to Fasi in his <u>Mu`jam</u>, Abu al-Huda al-Sayyadi wrote a book about the Idrisides of Morocco: <u>al-Idah al-mutrib</u> (unpublished), and given <u>ijazah</u> to Sultan Abd al-Hafiz by correspondence.

close contacts with Yusuf al-Nabhani who served the Ottomans as editor of their official journal "al-Jawa'ib".[96] Accordingly, it is not surprising to see all the leading members of the Kattaniyah Sufi order embracing Ma' al-Aynayn's ideas and promoting his writings in Morocco via the agent of printing.

The last point to be made about Ma' al-Aynayn's Hizb literature is that the common people in Morocco utilized the writings as charms for protection against various illnesses and dangers surrounding them at this period.[97] Thus, they added another dimension to the basis upon which Ma' al-Aynayn built his popularity in Morocco. What all this means is that just as printing was used as an agent to popularize Ma' al-Aynayn in Morocco during a short period of time, Ma' al-Aynayn himself was utilized by various Moroccans (statesmen, 'Ulama, poets and the common people) to meet their needs via the agent of printing. The usefulness of printing was becoming apparent not only to the 'Ulama as authors, but also to a wider spectrum of Moroccan society from the late 1880s onwards.

In short, it is clear that some of the 'Ulama like Ma' al-Aynayn did not need the agent of printing to become a dominant religious

95. cont. For more on this still unexplored aspect of Moroccan history, see al-Manuni, op. cit., vol.1, which includes many valuable pieces of information about Ottoman 'Ulama visiting Morocco before 1912, in relation to reform.

96. al-Fasi, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 161-162; Y. al-Nabhani, Jami' karamat al-awliya, pp. 226-229. See also Note 95 above.

97. Zarif, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 155-158. According to Zarif (p. 160), Ma' al-Aynayn wrote special Hizb prayers for the minister Ahmad ibn Musa entitled: Munilat al-qasd li-kull ja'a wa taridat al-afat min kull ma mada wa ma qad ya'ti. It means "the provider of every upcoming goal [or intention] and the reliever of harm [or epidemics] of the past or the future [ones]."

leader and statesman in his desert community of Mauritania, where socioeconomic, religious and educational achievements were sufficient to achieve his high status. However, despite Ma' al-Aynayn's wide appeal to his people in the desert, neither his religious fame nor his writings which exceeded three hundred in number helped him to become a popular figure in Morocco until the late 1880s when the encroachment and threat of Europe, and Ma' al-Aynayn's access to the desert people, brought him to the attention of the most powerful people of the time in Morocco. It was through printing that these people assisted Ma'al-Aynayn to become the most popular leader of the time.

The 'Ulama as Publishers

The final aspect of the 'Ulama's involvement in printing was in the field of publishing. In general there were two categories of publishers; a) the institutionalized publishers who were mostly professional printers and b) the individual publishers who were either from the ranks of the notables, or the 'Ulama. Here I will limit my discussion to the 'Ulama and the changes which publishing brought to their lives while in the upcoming chapter I will take up the publishers from the ranks of the notables.

Publishing during this period meant both financing a publication and distributing it. Between 1872 and 1912 and beyond, the majority of the seventy plus 'Ulama authors seem to have financed their own publications. This is certainly not surprising because it was not any different from the older times when authors made their own clean copies from which their students or scribes produced additional copies.

However, what is surprising here is that, with the exception of authors like Ma' al-Aynayn and a few of the Kattanis whose works were published and so acknowledged by their followers or benefactors, the majority of authors failed to indicate that it was themselves who published their own works. Among such authors were leading 'Ulama like Ibn al-Khayyat[98] Abd Allah ibn Khadra[99] and al-Mahdi al-Wazzani.[100] Perhaps the reason the 'Ulama did not acknowledge themselves as publishers of their own books was because of the modesty factor or their desire to be identified only as scholars or judges and not as businessmen. It was also more prestigious to have other publishers producing and distributing their books rather than doing it themselves which could have been interpreted as self-serving. However, what is the most significant point to make here is that no one yet knows how the 'Ulama publishers distributed their books. Did they distribute them from their residences in Fez or other cities, did they hire peddlers (*Murawwijs*)[101] or did they simply give their books to the shopkeepers in the marketplace to sell on a consignment basis? It is very likely that no clear answers will ever surface about the details of the 'Ulama's involvement in distribution because it was done on personal and confidential levels.

At the same time, one should expect that many of the 'Ulama did not sell their publications at all but gave them away or exchanged them for other works with their colleagues and students throughout the

98. Abdulrazak, *op. cit.* pp. 112-113. Ibn al-Khayyat had fifteen titles to his credit.

99. *Ibid*, p. 155.

100. *Ibid*, p. 180.

101. al-Manuni, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 310.

country. Most of the 'Ulama moved frequently from one job to another in different parts of the country. For example, in case of Ahmad al-Nasiri, he had various professions as a judge, a customs official, a teacher, and Imam which took him to many parts of the country like Meknes, Tangiers, Marrakesh and Fez.[102] Despite the fact that we do not know exactly how the 'Ulama distributed their books, one can still suggest that printing gave the 'Ulama another useful dimension not only to publicize their books and themselves through their works, but also as a possible financial benefit.[103]

In summary, by studying the attitudes of the 'Ulama vis-a-vis printing, and their roles as writers, editors, scribes and publishers, I have pointed out that certain 'Ulama like al-Siba'i resisted the utilization of printed books on the basis that such utilization would harm the traditional system of education. However, although al-Siba'i's fear of the ultimate change was well founded, his real objection to printed books may have stemmed from the fact that he was an outsider and more significantly a proven critic of the government which under its watchful eyes and encouragement the entire printing operation was carried out.

As for the remainder of the 'Ulama, especially those who became involved in the new technology in one way or another, printing was a

102. K. Brown, "Profile of a nineteenth-century Moroccan scholar," in Keddie, Scholars, Saints and Sufis, pp. 127-148.

103. Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani, Munyat al-sa'il, p. 8 of the last fasicle. Here al-Kattani informs his readers about books in circulation and forthcoming, including ones to be published in Istanbul. See also, A. Sukayrij, Murid al-wusul, pp. 6-8 of the last fasicle which includes an advertisement of fifty forthcoming titles by the author, Sukayrij.

formidable agent which brought scores of benefits and improvements. Among such benefits were, first, the reorganization of the old system which resulted in providing the scholar as editor not only a new source of income and a means to build up his personal collection, but also an upper hand as the editors became the overseers of the entire book production operation in the country. This reorganization also led to a great improvement of knowledge as books were carefully examined by editors for possible errors and misuse of information. Second, the new technology helped the 'Ulama to become widely recognized in relatively short periods of time and helped to preserve their writings for future generations as available sources of information about their activities and scholarship. Third, printing helped the 'Ulama to become small capitalists as many of them financed their own publications and distributed them personally or exchanged their works with other authors' works. Fourth, the involvement of the 'Ulama in printing helped to created wide and farreaching intellectual activities, a point which I will discuss in greater detail in the final chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

PRINTERS, PUBLISHERS AND PRINTING

During the five or six decades between the 1860s and the 1920s, there were in Morocco about ten native and foreign printers, and about twenty individual publishers among the ranks of the notables who were neither profesional printers nor scholars.[1] In this chapter I will discuss the activities of five exemplary professional printers, as well as three categories of publishers among the notables, to see in what way the utilization of printing technology affected their lives and brought changes to the country.

I. al-Tayyib al-Azraq, the Pioneer Printer.

In September, 1871 when the Egyptian printer al-Qabbani returned to his homeland, the Fez printing establishment apparently remained idle for several months[2] under the guardianship of al-Talib

1. According to the colophons of the Fez lithographic and moveable-type imprints between 1865 and 1917 the following printers or publishers were active: Muhammad al-Qabbani (he flourished between 1865 and 1871); al-Tayyib al-Azraq (1872-1894), al-Arabi al-Azraq (1876-1914), al-Makki ibn Idris (1876-1877), Ahmad al-Yamlahi (1887/8--1910), Ahmad ibn al-Tayyib al-Azraq (1890-1908), Abd al-Salam al-Dhuwayb (1896-1913), al-Khidir Muhammad Barradah (1897-1918), Muhammad al-Badisi (1898-1908) and Ahmad Yumni (1906-1908). Muhammad al-Manuni, Mazahir, vol. 1, p.293 indicated that Ahmad ibn Abd al-Karim al-Qadiri was also one of the printers or one who owned a printing establishment, but the colophon of the Fez imprints shows that al-Qadiri was mainly a publisher. According to Roger Le Tourneau, Fes avant le protectorat vol. 1, p. 681 there was another printer by the name of Muhammad Bardullah. The colophon of the Fez imprints shows no such name therefore it is very likely that he meant al-Khidir Muhammad Barradah whose activities lasted up until 1918.

2. F. Abdulrazak, Fihris al-matbu`at al-hajariyah, p. 187. The last thing which the Egyptian printer produced was presumably Rifa`i's Qasidah which was in February, 1871. The following book, Dala'il al-khayrat by al-Jazuli, was produced by al-Tayyib in March, 1872. So if we assume that it took six months to produce Dala'il, then by September the Egyptian printer was no longer in Morocco.

al-Shami, the rector of al-Qarawiyin Mosque College.[3] According to a document dated, December, 1874, several individuals who were described as Jama'ah min ahl al-'ilm (a group of students or 'Ulama) approached the government to request that al-Tayyib al-Azraq become the new manager of printing in Fez.[4] However, when the government granted the request, it apparently wanted al-Tayyib to manage printing at his own financial risk including paying a fee to the government of one-tenth of the books he produced.[5]

Being both a student and a printer since the early days of printing in Morocco, al-Tayyib knew the extent of the financial resources he needed to make printing a successful operation. Accordingly, he hesitated until he found a willing partner in the person of al-Husayn al-Dabbagh.[6] The significance of this partnership between al-Tayyib and al-Dabbagh, which may have lasted until 1876, was as important as the financial boost which Fust, the merchant and banker, gave to Gutenberg, the inventor of printing. In fact, al-Dabbagh may have helped al-Tayyib far beyond providing financial support by paving his way to establish a strong link with the Moroccan government as well as the 'Ulama and religious leaders in the country.

al-Husayn al-Dabbagh was not only a wealthy individual from Fez, he was also from a prominant Sharifian and Sufi family. His father was the head of al-Zawiyah al-Dabbaghiyah in Fez which had numerous

3. al-Manuni, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 299-301. This information is from a letter sent by al-Husayn ibn Muhammad al-Dabbagh, al-Tayyib's partner to the Chamberlain Musa ibn Ahmad dated December, 1874.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid; al-Runda , Hadith ma'ah al-Tayyib al-Azraq, p. 1.
6. See note 3 above.

followers in Morocco. His brother, Ibrahim, was one of the 'Ulama who participated in printing as an editor for al-Tayyib.[7] It is interesting to note that during 1872, when the rector of al-Qarawiyin was holding onto printing stones from al-Tayyib in order to increase the government's share of his output by three extra copies, al-Dabbagh wrote a letter to the Grand Vizier requesting the direct involvement of the Sultan (whom he called our cousin) to put an end to the rector's unreasonable demands.[8] It is not clear whether al-Dabbagh succeeded in protecting al-Tayyib from the rector of al-Qarawiyin, and his demands, but we know that in 1874 Sultan Hasan issued a letter of acknowledgement and respect for al-Tayyib's efforts as master printer and teacher (Mu'allim) of the art of printing.[9]

Thus, it is reasonable to assume that al-Dabbagh did in fact succeed in protecting al-Tayyib and his own interests as well. With such an acknowledgement and recognition from the highest level in Morocco, al-Tayyib was able to continue his profession for the next twenty years, during which he established himself not only as a pioneer printer in Morocco but also as the person who brought into Morocco several new techniques which served as a model for the printers who either worked with him or came after him.

One of the first challenges which faced al-Tayyib at the onset of his professional career as the first private manager of a printing establishment was to turn a losing enterprise into a profit-making

7. al-Alami, Nawazil (Fez, 1875) was printed by al-Tayyib al-Azraq and edited by Ibrahim ibn Muhammad al-Dabbagh.
8. See note 3 above.
9. al-Manuni, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 309.

business. To achieve this, al-Tayyib took several necessary steps. He cut costs by lowering the quality of the product in terms of the paper he used. Before 1872, the Egyptian printer had utilized high quality white, acid-free paper which was fit for the use of the Sultan and his high-ranking officials in their correspondence. al-Tayyib substituted such paper with a thin, brown, cheaper paper. Also, he abandoned the complete vocalization of the script because it cost him extra time and money. The quality of the script was also reduced indicating that he hired mediocre scribes whose handwriting skills were acceptable, but not of high quality.[10]

The other step which al-Tayyib took was to improve al-Qabbani's inconsistent system of pagination for better control and for other practical reasons. For example, the Egyptian printer sometimes utilized the Indian numerals[11] and at other times Arabic numerals in numbering pages.[12] al-Tayyib began using only Arabic numerals because they were more common in Morocco than were the Indian numerals He continued the fasicle system in numbering pages as before. Each fasicle was in eight pages or two sheets which took four impressions on each side. To distinguish one fasicle from another the beginning of each one was marked with an additional number connecting it to

10. I have reached these conclusions by examining the books produced by the Egyptian printer between 1865 and 1871 and the books produced by al-Tayyib al-Azraq. All such samples are available at Harvard College Library.

11. See the pagination of al-Tirmidhi's al-Shama'il (Meknes, 1865).

12. See the pagination of al-Khurashi's Sharh `ala mukhtasar Khalil, (Fez, 1867).

the following one.[13] In cases of multiple volumes, the beginning of each fasicle was marked with the volume number along with an abbreviated form of the title and author. This system of pagination is laborious because if one wanted to know the number of pages each book contained he would have to count the number of fasicles and multiply them by eight, subtracting the blank pages at the end of the book.

Despite this, the system was less costly and more useful to the printing operation in many ways; first it allowed printers to utilize cheap laborers with limited reading ability. All they had to do was put together the piles of fasicles into book form for binders without much supervision by the printer. Second, it allowed printers to rely on a maximum of four stones each bearing two frames to complete the job, fasicle by fasicle. What this also means is that by using a limited number of the imported and expensive stones, printers could share or rent the remaining stones to others for a fee. It also meant they could free themselves from being tied down to one scribe or editor. Accordingly, the older concept of bringing together a variety of highly specialized professionals to produce an expensive product[14] had to change as the aim shifted from serving the cream of the society to producing affordable books for a wider public.

It is unfortunate that no price list for al-Tayyib's products has been uncovered yet to determine to what extent his prices differed from the pre-1872 prices of printed books. But, judging from the fact that other printers and publishers rushed to carve out their share of the

13. Catch words were also utilized to connect the pages continuously.

14. See Chapter VI.

new business, it is possible to asume that al-Tayyib succeeded in bringing books closer to a larger number of users and thereby insuring the permanency of the book business in Morocco. Accordingly, one could consider al-Tayyib's initial changes as a significant step forward in Morocco's gradual transition towards the democratizition of books.

The second innovation which al-Tayyib brought to the profession of printing in Morocco, was to define its functions and its management. For example, when we examine the books which al-Tayyib printed or published during his career, which lasted until 1894, we find him utilizing special terms like Mu'allim Dar al-Tiba'ah[15] to indicate that he was both the master printer and the teacher at his establishment. Also, he used other terms like Bi-Dhimmah[16] (i.e., financial responsibility) to define his role as a publisher, whereas other places used terms like Bi-Matba'ah[17] (i.e. at the press of), Bi-Tanmiq[18] (i.e., with ornamentation), to specify the fact that a certain book was printed at his establishment possibly by one of his assistants or another printer who simply used his equipment for a fee. In addition, al-Tayyib used the term Bi-mubasharah[19] to indicate that he himself initiated the work and

15. See the colophons of Gannun's book, al-Durrah al-maknunah; Abd al-Qadir al-Fasi's Hawashi (Fez, 1885/90).

16. See the colophons of al-Turunbati's Hashiyah, (Fez, 1887/8) and Ibn al-Hajj's Hashiyah (Fez, 1897).

17. See the colophons of Abu Zayd al-Fasi's Sharh nazm al-amal (Fez, N.D.) and al-Wansharisi's al-Manhaj al-Fa'iq (Fez, 1910).

18. See the colophons of Abd al-Qadir al-Fasi's Hawashi (Fez, 1889/90).

19. See the colophons of A. al-`Alami's Nawazil, and al-Zubaydi's Ithaf al-sadah (Fez, 1884/5). This latter text was printed in cooperation with his brother, al-Arabi, which suggests that al-Tayyib might have initiated the work and his brother finished the actual printing.

others may have finished it.

These terms which al-Tayyib might have learned from his Egyptian teacher assist us to understand the different roles he played in his printing establishment and also the roles played by other Moroccan printers and publishers, because they also utilized the same terms in describing their roles. Another significant fact one can learn from these terms is that, with the exception of Tashih (i.e. editing) and Naskh (i.e. copying),[20] he was involved in all aspects of printing and publishing. This concentration of multiple duties could be another factor for his success. Instead of hiring several assistants to perform various jobs, he himself acted as the printer, publisher, manager and teacher to insure profitability of his operation. This style of "do most of it if you can" set the pattern for other printers to follow.

al-Tayyib was not engaged in carrying out these functions all the time. The sporadic nature of his activities must have been another reason why he performed several types of duties. With the exception of the early period between 1872 and 1876, when al-Tayyib printed and published books in cooperation with his partner al-Dabbagh, he only acted as publisher twice, once in 1887 and the second time in 1890.[21] So, al-Tayyib's workload was not too oppressive. He produced about twenty-seven different works during his twenty-two years of involvement

20. These two terms (Tashih and Naskh) have not been used by al-Tayyib in his production. He had others to carry them out.

21. The two books which al-Tayyib financed alone were al-Turunbati's Hashiyah (Fez, 1887/8) and Ibn al-Hajj's Hashiyah ala al-murshid al-mu`in (Fez, 1897) which both are textbooks used at al-Qarawiyin Mosque College.

in printing.[22]

The third innovation which al-Tayyib brought to Morocco was printing the Koran in 1879. He became the first Moroccan printer to do so.[23] Printing the Koran began centuries ago in Europe,[24] but Muslims throughout the world had to wait for centuries before coming to grips with the reality that "it was beneficial to Muslims and Islam," as the Ottoman scholar, Haqqi, put it that "God's eternal words be printed by means of modern technology."[25]

In 1864/5 the Egyptian government became the first Muslim government to print the Koran[26] with no opposition from the religious body in the country. This process was not a dramatic shift from script to printed form, because it was done via lithographic means which duplicated whatever script the Muslims in Egypt preferred. In 1870/1 the Ottoman Turks took the first step to produce the Koran by means of moveable type or standardized letters.[27] Thus, al-Tayyib's effort in Morocco to print the Koran by lithographic means and in Maghribi script was not a drastic departure from the previous practices in Egypt.

22. Abdulrazak, op. cit., pp. 126-127. This number is based on the actual books in which al-Tayyib al-Azraq's name has been cited as publisher or printer. It is possible that he might have published or printed other books without indicating his name.

23. Ibid.

24. See Chapter III of this study.

25. See Chapter IV of this study.

26. Y. Sarkis, Mu`jam al-matbu`at, vol. 2, pp. 1499-1500. According to Sarkis, the Koran was also printed in Calcutta in 1857/8 but it is very likely that it was done in conjunction with the British government in India which was active in lithographic printing in Calcutta since 1808. At Harvard there is a sample of the Calcutta lithographic imprints which is T' hatvee's Moontukhub-oul-loghaut, or A Dictionary of Arabic Words, Calcutta, 1808. Considering the fact that lithographic printing was invented in Germany in 1798, it is remarkable that it was already in use in India by 1808.

27. Ibid.

Nevertheless, the action was of great symbolic importance in that Moroccans, and especially their traditional 'Ulama, finally came to accept reading copies of the Koran produced by Western technology.

There are three additional significant points about al-Tayyib which should be recognized. First, was his inability to utilize lithographic printing to its fullest potential. The lithographic machines were capable of printing books in both black and white or in color. None of al-Tayyib's books were printed in color and none of the Fez lithographic imprints were produced in color. This suggests that al-Tayyib neither learned the skill from the Egyptian printer, nor taught it to his students. Therefore, none of the Fez lithographic imprints were produced in color. The lack of this skill meant that while al-Tayyib and other printers succeeded in maintaining the traditional manuscript format in terms of title page, Dibajah (introductory comments), Matn (text), and Khatimah (conclusion), plus colophon (the ending remarks), they failed to incorporate the rich traditional craft and artistic skill of calligraphy and color ornamentation which were rendered in manuscripts. The attempts by printers like al-Tayyib to commercialize books had an adverse impact on the artistic aspect of traditional books, because printers lacked this skill. The increased volume of black and white books gradually reduced the exposure of students and scholars to the aesthetically superior books and thus diminished their desire to immitate or duplicate them in penmanship and illumination as was the case during the era of manuscripts.

The second point about al-Tayyib is the size of his production. The eight to ten thousand volumes[28] which were produced by al-Tayyib during his tenure as printer can now be produced in only a few months. However, al-Tayyib's level of production was still a giant step away from the era of manuscripts, and far superior to the first period of printing in Morocco.[29] What is important here is that printing was growing in size and influence reflecting Morocco's gradual but definite departure from many of its medieval characteristics towards new and changing concepts in the field of book production and scholarship. However, the "new" was not pure all the time. Instead, it was a mixture of the old and the new. By looking back a century later, we can see this period as a transition leading to the eventual democratization of books, and to modernity.

The third aspect about al-Tayyib was the nature of the books he published alone or with his partner. When we take a look at the books al-Tayyib published we find them to be either text books or scholarly works. Being located in Fez, near the Mosque College of al-Qarawiyin, and scores of Madrasahs[30] (schools), al-Tayyib had no choice but to print books for students and scholars who were the main users of his products. In this aspect al-Tayyib did not apparently have any major impact on the traditional reading public. However, by the size

28. This estimate is based on the 27 different titles which he printed or published in 300 to 400 copies per title. Many of the titles were in multiple volumes. See Note 22 above.

29. At this period only six titles were produced in eleven volumes, so by the same estimate of 300-400 copies per volume, one could suggest that 3000-4000 volumes were produced during this period.

30. For an interesting description of the various schools around al-Qarawiyin in Fez, see A. Peretié, "les Medrasas de Fes" in Archives marocaines, vol. 18(1912), pp. 257-372.

of al-Tayyib's output, one could expect that there were students or scholars who, upon the conclusion of their studies in Fez, preferred to obtain books for themselves instead of relying on memory in their teachings or other religious professions in the cities or towns where they had come from. Although we cannot be sure that this happened, the publicized fear of the traditional 'Ulama like al-Siba'i that "printed books were harmful to the Islamic system of learning"[31] could be interpreted as some evidence that such occurrences were taking place.

In brief, al-Tayyib al-Azraq's major contributions to the printing industry in Morocco and to change could be summed up in the fact that he reorganized and improved the old system of book production (which he had inherited from the pre-1872 period). He shifted the focus of the industry to producing an affordable commodity for a larger number of consumers. To reach such a goal and to insure the success of his business, al-Tayyib had to compromise the quality of the paper, ink, script, etc. used in his product and the artistic quality as well. In addition, he relied on less skilled workers. Above all al-Tayyib found himself a wealthy individual to finance his operation.

During his tenure as Morocco's first and pioneering master printer and publisher, al-Tayyib advanced the industry of printing in Morocco several steps forward by increasing the size of the book production, by training students (whose careers will be discussed later), and by becoming Morocco's first printer to produce the Koran by means of this modern technology, a step which was of great significance and a sign of the changes to come. It was only a few decades previous that no one in

31. See Chapter VI of this study.

Morocco could have imagined that their sacred book, which is to them God's eternal words, would be produced by a tool made in Christendom.

II. al-Arabi al-Azraq, Printing Reinforced.

The second major printer, who emerged to become Morocco's most prolific printer between 1876 and 1914, was al-Tayyib's younger brother, al-Arabi al-Azraq. al-Arabi's name appeared for the first time in the colophon of Khujah's commentary on Euclid's Elements in 1876. During the same year the name of another printer, al-Makki ibn Idris, appeared in the colophon of the Fez imprints.[32] It is not known yet whether al-Arabi and al-Makki owned their own printing shops, or just shared the government-owned printing establishment. However, because each printing stone could have produced three thousand or more prints and the level of production at this period was very likely only around three hundred copies per title, one could suggest that both al-Arabi and al-Makki shared the same printing machine and stones with al-Tayyib, for a fee. What was most surprising and interesting about al-Arabi al-Azraq was his instant success which in the long run overshadowed all other Moroccan printers including his own brother, al-Tayyib.

To see why al-Arabi was so successful, we have to examine his skills and other factors which facilitated his success. Examining such factors is also important in appreciating the innovations which he introduced. A simple comparison between his early products and that of his colleague, al-Makki ibn Idris, shows that al-Arabi was much more versed in the art of lithographic printing than al-Makki, whose products

32. See the colophon of Muhammad Binnis's Bahjat al-basar (Fez, 1876)

were loaded with technical problems which lithographic experts often warned against. Because al-Makki was not very meticulous in cleaning the surface of his printing stones, the remaining tiny grains of sand on the surface of his stones produced large black lines on some of his printed pages.[33] Also, because he did not properly use his greasy crayons, faded lines appeared on his prints.[34] Furthermore, he misused the ink, the rollers and even the press, so that his prints looked uneven in their light and dark colors.[35] Therefore, it was not surprising to see that al-Makki abandoned the profession of printing after two years despite the fact that he was a member of a wealthy and powerful family[36] and financially better off than both al-Tayyib and al-Arabi. (This was evident from the fact that he printed six books within two years at his own expense.)[37] It is very interesting to note that whenever al-Makki faced a problem, he resorted to prayers to ease his pain. At the top margins of some of his products one finds a prayer, such as. "God may help us to conclude this work," which is indicative of not only his religious tendencies but also the frustrations and difficulties he faced during his short-lived venture.[38]

Contrary to al-Makki's books, the products of al-Arabi al-Azraq appeared much superior. As a matter of fact, because the Moroccan

33. See Ahmad al-Hilali's Taqyid (Fez, 1876), p. 90.
34. Ibid., p. 76.
35. Ibid., p. 48, verse 49.
36. al-Makki's father and grandfather were Ministers to the Sultan, Abd al-Rahman, and Muhammad IV. In fact, it was al-Makki's father, Idris al-Amrawi who went to Paris as Morocco's ambassador in 1860 and was the first Moroccan to call upon the Sultan to import a printing machine to Morocco. See Chapter V of this study.
37. Abdulrazak, op. cit., p. 111.
38. As in note 33 above, p. 233, top left margin.

government contracted al-Arabi to print Khujah's commentary on Euclid's Elements in 1876, and supplied him with good quality paper and ink, his very first product was as excellent as any of the six titles which the Egyptian printer, al-Qabbani, produced for the Moroccan government between 1864 and 1871.[39] It is therefore very likely that al-Arabi received much better training at the hand of his brother al-Tayyib than did al-Makki, probably because the al-Azraq brothers did not want any serious competition for their newly founded printing business. Keeping the secrets of the trade was a common phenomenon in Europe with both the inventors of the moveable type and lithographic printing, as well as by capitalist publishers like Fust.[40] Therefore, it is not surprising to find al-Tayyib favoring his brother over al-Makki ibn Idris, the son of the Minister, Idris al-Amrawi,[41] in passing on the secrets of his trade. In addition, the monopoly of a craft or a business within families was not something new to Morocco.[42] What was new which al-Tayyibi helped to create was the integration of printing into the Moroccan economy as another craft. In fact, the Azraq brothers succeeded in maintaining their firm control over printing in Morocco until early 1890 when the government's increasing need for printers

39. Catalogue of Islamic Collections, no. 510. E.J. Brill. In this catalogue al-Arabi's product has been rightfully described as the peak of Moroccan craft in printing.

40. It has been said that Fust was obliged to break the secret of his trade to the French who became very suspicious of Fust's product which seemed identical and thus beyond the limits of human capacity. Accordingly, Fust was accused of being involved in magic which deserved the death penalty at the time. See P. Meggs, The Graphic Design p.76.

41. See Note 36 above.

42. Andre Pacard, Traditional Islamic Craft in Moroccan Architecture, vol. 1, p. 361.

forced them to open up the business to other interested individuals.[43] Also, even after the breakdown of the Azraq monopoly, they continued to have a share of the book business because al-Tayyib's son, Ahmad,[44] continued his family craft until 1908 when the Moroccan government finally decided to bring all printers and printing machines in the country under its direct management.

The other major reason for al-Arabi's success was his own appetite and curiosity for learning. al-Arabi's talent and experimentation with lithographic printing helped him do something which no other Moroccan printer had been able to do; produce his own ink and prepare his own transfer paper. The recipe for al-Arabi's ink which still survives does not seem any different than the recipes recorded in manuals for lithographic printing (see Chapter III). al-Arabi's transfer paper, appears to have been imported cheap, thin paper which he covered with starch to allow writing and the transmission of ink to the surface of the printing stone easily and efficiently.[45]

The famous editor Ahmad al-Bu'azzawi,[46] who assisted al-Arabi and recorded his recipes for ink and transfer paper, did not indicate exactly when al-Arabi succeeded in becoming self-sufficient in lithographic ink and paper. Also, he did not indicate whether or not al-Arabi

43. These individuals were Ahmad al-Yamlahi and Abd al-Salam al-Dhuwayb whose careers are discussed in detail in this chapter.

44. Abdulrazak, op. cit., pp. 125-126. There are fourteen titles to this printer's credit. The colophon of his products show that he first entered the business in 1890/1 as assistant to his father, al-Tayyib, and by 1913 he began to describe himself as Mu'allim Dar al-Tiba'ah (i.e., the Master of the Printing House).

45. For al-Arabi's recipe for ink and preparation of transfer paper see al-Manuni, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 314-315.

46. See Chapter VII of this study.

supplied other printers with such material for profit. Nevertheless, what is significant here is that because of the necessity to run an efficient business and because he had good skills, al-Arabi advanced the cause of printing in Morocco by manufacturing his own supplies which not only relieved him from the high costs of imports, but also made other printers rely on his knowledge and supplies. It might be useful to recall here that one of the factors which made printing common in Europe was the fact that supplies were produced locally and manufactured in large quantities for commercial use.[47] Moroccan printers were by no means comparable in scale and magnitude to European printers; however they, in the person of al-Arabi, succeeded in becoming self-sufficient to insure profitability within two decades after the private sector came to manage printing directly.

Aside from al-Arabi's personal skills, other factors played an important role in his success story. Among such factors was the government's support in awarding him contracts. It was the government's contract to print Euclid's Elements that launched al-Arabi's career as a successful printer.[48] In addition, when the government wanted to publish Ithaf al-sadah by al-Zubaydi, for propaganda, it was al-Arabi who received the printing job[49]. When the Chamberlain, Ahmad ibn Musa, wanted to publicize Ma' al-'Aynayn's writings in Morocco in 1891, al-

47. See Section III of this chapter.

48. See the colophon of N. Khujah, Sharh usul Uqlidis. The Fez 1876 edition.

49. al-Manuni, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 305-309. The text of the contract between al-Arabi al-Azraq and the Moroccan government is included in these pages.

Arabi al-Azraq also had a good share of the contract.[50] It is interesting to note that because of the Government's continued reliance on al-Arabi to print the books it needed, he was encouraged in 1898 to request from the Minister, al-Mukhtar ibn Abdallah al-Bukhari, the resumption of the custom of gift giving to printers like himself,[51] his brother and his nephew, which Sultan Muhammad IV had started in 1865 with the Egyptian printer, his workers and students.

To pay back the government for its support and encouragement, al-Arabi twice published propaganda literature at his own expense; once he financed Ibn al-Mawwaz's book al-Lu'lul al-sani which characterizes Sultan Hasan as a great statesman and defender of Islam. The second time he financed one of Ma' al-Aynayn's books apparently to please the Minister, Ahmad ibn Musa, and continue receiving his support.[52]

The other major factor which helped al-Arabi and printing to become a common phenomenon in Morocco between 1876 and 1914 was the "protégé question". 'Protégés' were Moroccan expatriots who had given up their citizenship to acquire European passports. The question of protégés started in 1857 when Sultan Abd al-Rahman allowed the British to recruit Moroccan merchants as agents, in order to facilitate commercial transactions with the natives. In the 1860s, after the Tetuan War with Spain, other European countries like France and Spain, and even the United States, had their agents in various port cities and other parts of the country.[53]

50. Abdulrazak, op. cit., pp. 127-129.
51. al-Manuni, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 313-314. Here one finds the text of a letter which al-Arabi sent to Minister al-Bukhari.
52. See Chapter VII of this study.
53. M. Bouchera, Immigrations, vol. 1, pp. 145-156.

The number of protégés increased gradually from the 1860s, in reaction to the government's new systematic methods of collecting taxes.[54] The result was that by the 1870s and 1880s a sizeable number of notable merchants and farmers had become "protégés". Many of these protégés were also engaged in importing goods and supplies from European countries. Among them was the merchant, al-Mahdi al-Hulu[55] who apparently, with a partner by the name of Ben Sasoon, was importing paper from England and possibly France.[56] Many of the Fez lithographic imprints bear the dry mark of these two merchants. The dry marks of other European merchants like Gibby Alpari appeared in the Fez imprints.[57] What this means is that the growth of the "protégé" phenomenon in Morocco seems to have paved the way for imports of large quantities of paper.[58] This helped al-Arabi's rapid growth. In fact, the growth in paper supplies also coincided with Sultan Hasan's attempt to control the collection of tax revenues by requiring that all tax collectors use notebooks (i.e. Dafatir) to record their transactions.[59]

al-Arabi al-Azraq and the printing industry in general benefited greatly from Morocco's improved economy and prosperity between the 1880s and 1894. At this period, Sultan Hasan succeeded in paying Morocco's foreign debts which were the direct result of the 1860 Tetuan

54. A. Touzani, Les Oumana, pp. 167-168, 171.
55. Bouchera, op. cit. vol. 1, pp. 312-318. Le Tourneau, op. cit., vol. 1. p. 138.
56. Le Tourneau, op. cit.
57. Such marks appear in al-Abbasi'sAjwibah (Fez, N.D.) and M. Bardullah's Nawazil (Fez, 1925/6). Other marks with the names of Gibby Marx, and Karabasy also appear in many Fez lithographs.
58. The Times of Morocco, no. 73 (March 31, 1887). Among the imported goods listed here were marble slabs, paper, stationery, books, and ammunition, etc.
59. Touzani, op. cit. pp. 65-67.

War.[60] The details and signs of Morocco's prosperity at this time have been recorded by the historian of the period, Ahmad al-Nasiri, who observed that Moroccan merchants were becoming increasingly wealthy, imitating European consumption habits in many of Morocco's coastal cities and towns since the 1870s[61] This same observation has been supported by Umar Afa in his recent thesis, Mas'alat al-nuqd fi al-Maghrib. Afa pointed out that most of Morocco's money at this time was located in its large cities and in the hands of its wealthy merchants.[62]

The economic prosperity and the availability of paper in abundance explains why al-Arabi became Morocco's largest and most prominant printer and publisher and why the printing industry in general exploded to the point that the Azraq brothers' monopoly had to be broken. This opened the way for other printers like al-Yamlahi, al-Dhuwayb and al-Badisi to establish their own businesses. From 1876 to 1914, al-Arabi produced over one hundred different titles and possibly a few hundred more for contemporary authors who chose not to render the name of the printer, or publisher of their books. What this means is that al-Arabi produced the bulk of Moroccan books during this time, since the entire book production until 1914 did not exceed seven hundred titles.[63]

60. al-Nasiri, op. cit. vol. 9, p. 177.
61. Ibid., vol. 9, p. 124.
62. p. 127.
63. Thus far I have been able to locate 463 titles excluding the titles which were printed more than once. Also, it should be noted that some of the titles such as in Majmu` include about thirty different titles. Accordingly, the estimation of 700 titles is reasonable. See Abdulrazak, op. cit. pp. 20-109.

In short, just as al-Tayyib al-Azraq succeeded in establishing himself as Morocco's pioneer master printer, al-Arabi succeeded to become Morocco's largest printer and publisher during an era when Moroccan students, scholars and the reading public in general, witnessed more printed books surrounding them than manuscripts.[64]

III. Ahmad al-Yamlahi, the One-man Institution

The third significant printer in Morocco after the Azraq brothers, was Ahmad Abd al-Mawla al-Yamlahi. What made al-Yamlahi so signficant was not the size or quality of his prod cts. Instead it was due to the fact that he broke the Azraq's monopoly on the printing business and built himself into a one-man institution.

al-Yamlahi, who was known as both Faqih (i.e., Jurist) and Adl (i.e. notary public)[65] showed interest in printing during 1888 when he financed the publication of al-Shifa by Qadi 'Iyad (d. 1149) which was printed at al-Arabi's printing establishment.[66] In 1892 al-Yamlahi's name surfaced as the owner of al-Matba'ah al-Jadidah (i.e. the new printing press) until July 1900.[67] After this, al-Yamlahi's name appeared only twice, once in September, 1902 as Mubashir al-kutub (direc

64. According to Muhammad al-Manuni in his article "Marakiz al-makhtutat wa adillatih bi al-Maghrib" al-Mawrid vol. 14, no. 2(1985), pp. 157-161, there are about forty-two-thousand surviving manuscripts in Morocco (of which 1719 are on microfilm). These manuscripts reflect the country's heritage throughout its Islamic history. In comparison, al-Arabi al-Azraq alone produced about sixty to one hundred thousand volumes within four decades.

65. al-Manuni, Mazahir, vol. 1, p. 289.

66. Abdulrazak, op. cit., p. 185.

67. Ibid.

tor of printing) and a second time in December, 1910 as Muqriz (praise writer). This latter description appeared in the colophon of al-Mahdi al-Wazzani's book, al-Nawazil.[68]

What all this data about al-Yamlahi suggests is that he was very likely one of al-Arabi's students and benefactors in the sense that it was al-Arabi who encouraged al-Yamlahi to enter the business because of the changing times and the increased demand for books. In 1895 and 1898, al-Arabi seems to have shared with al-Yamlahi the jobs he contracted with the Moroccan government.[69] What is most interesting here is that on both occasions the contracts involved the writings by Ma' al-Aynayn which Ahmad ibn Musa (Chamberlain to 1894 and Grand Vazir to 1900) wanted to see in circulation. The first book which al-Yamlahi printed in his own printing establishment was Mufid al-rawi by Ma' al-Aynayn, at the request of the Chamberlain. Thus, despite the favorable economic conditions and the abundance of paper in the country, it was the government's need which facilitated the expansion of printing.

The second reason which brought al-Yamlahi to be a prominant printer in Morocco was undoubtedly his zeal to become a one-man institution. For about two decades he contributed thirteen different titles or 4-6 thousand volumes to the book market. al-Yamlahi involved himself in almost all aspects of production including printing, financing the publications, editing, writing Taqriz[70] and very likely

68. Ibid.
69. See the colophon of Ma' al-Aynayn's two books, Mubsir al-mutashawwuf and Sahl al-murtaqa.
70. Abdulrazak, op. cit., pp. 185-186.

copying most of them and selling them to the public directly, as well. The new technology made it possible for individuals like al-Yamlahi not only to establish independent careers for themselves but also to obtain the prestige and fame which often are associated with being involved in publishing.

IV. al-Dhuwayb, the Committed Printer

The fourth significant printer who distinguished himself from the Azraq brothers and al-Yamlahi was Abd al-Salam al-Dhuwayb.[71] In so many ways, al-Dhuwayb was like al-Yamlahi. He was a one-man institution, and his entry into the world of printing in 1895/6 was very likely part of Ahmad ibn Musa's drive to popularize Ma' al-Aynayn in Morocco.[72] However, unlike al-Yamlahi and the rest of the Moroccan printers, al-Dhuwayb was a man of conviction and distinct political ideology. He was an obedient follower of the Kattaniyah Sufi leaders and their servant as he himself described his connection to the Kattaniyah order.[73]

al-Dhuwayb's devotion to his leaders has been expressed on two levels. First, he seems to have written poetry to immortalize the good and enduring qualities of his Kattani leaders. In one of his surviving poems, al-Dhuwayb described his leaders as "the great pole of Sufism and the guiding star in a dark night."[74] On the second level, al-Dhuwayb spent until 1909 printing and publishing the writings by the

71. Ibid., p. 144.
72. See the colophon of Muhammad al-Kattani's Laqtat `ajlan (Fez, 1896).
73. Muhammad Bujandar, al-Ightibat, p. 412.
74. Ibid.

three Kattaniyah leaders, Abd al-Kabir and his two sons, Muhammad and Abd al-Hayy.[75] In fact, even the seven titles which al-Dhuwayb produced for Ma' al-Aynayn could be considered self-serving. Both these writings and the works by the Kattaniyah leaders, especially Muhammad, who is known as the Martyr, symbolized a very deep commitment to defending Islam and its institutions against Europe. They also urged a total reliance on Islamic means and experts, namely the Ottomans, to achieve their goals.

During his tenure as the owner of a printing establishment al-Dhuwayb produced only two types of books, scholarly and devotional literature. The former type was intended for distribution among the public, something which he himself carried out from the location of his establishment near the tomb of Ahmad al-Shawi in Fez.[76] These books provided dates and names of their editors, scribes, printers, etc.[77] The devotional literature by Abd al-Kabir and his son Muhammad al-Kattani, did not bear any dates, or other information.[78] What this suggests is that first, the devotional literature was mainly intended for internal use by members of the Kattaniyah order. Since the authors were alive and known there was no need to document their imprints. Second, it is possible that al-Dhuwayb alone, or with the cooperation of his leaders was involved in propaganda for the order through printing such literature.

75. For a list of these publications see Abdulrazak, <u>op. cit.</u>

76. al-Manuni, <u>op. cit.</u> vol. 1, p. 291.

77. Such books were Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani's <u>al-Bayan al-mu`rib</u> (Fez, 1913); Muhammad al-Kattani's <u>al-burhaniyah</u> (Fez, 1902); and Ma' al-Aynayn'sMughri al-nazir (Fez, 1903).

78. For a list of these publications see Abdulrazak, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 167-169.

At this point it is useful to recall that it was during this period of the late 1890s that Muhammad al-Kattani became subject to government inquiries about his possible aims to create his own theocratic state in Morocco.[79] It was also during this same period that the government of the Grand Vizier, Ahmad ibn Musa, imposed the 1897 censorship laws requiring that all printers submit their material for inspection before publication.[80] Because of this suspicion and fear among government circles, Sultan Abd al-Hafiz in 1909 confiscated al-Dhuwayb's printing establishment and arrested Muhammad al-Kattani, who died in prison during 1910.[81]

To al-Dhuwayb, the confiscation of his establishment meant being forced to become a printer for the government.[82] Other Kattaniyah leaders like Muhammad's younger brother, Abd al-Hayy, became clerks at the Sultan's court.[83] Having government jobs for these Kattaniyah activists by no means meant compensation or reward. Instead it meant another kind of censorship in a rather innovative way.
In brief, just as printing technology aided individuals like the Azraq brothers and al-Yamlahi to build up their businesses and becomes recognized in the eyes of the state and the scholarly public, it was

79. Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani, "al-Mazahir al-samiyah", vol. 1, pp. 78-83.
80. al-Manuni, _op. cit._ vol. 1, p. 310. See also Chapter VI of this study.
81. Muhammad Baqir al-Kattani, _Tarjamat al-Shahid_. Also Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani, _op. cit._, vol. 1, pp. 111-117.
82. Bujandar, _op. cit._
83. Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani, _op. cit._, vol. 1, p. 338.

also an aid to individuals like al-Dhuwayb who utilized his printing establishment to propogate his religious and ideological convictions as expressed and presented in the writings of Ma' al-Aynayn and al-Kattani which he printed and circulated in Morocco.

What al-Dhuwayb intended to achieve was to change the government's reliance on European experts for reform, and seek advice from Ottoman or other Muslim experts. However, because printing meant dissemination of knowledge which was perceived as a matter for the State to determine, the Sultan censored al-Dhuwayb's printing activities when it became clear to him that al-Dhuwayb's operation was serving the forces that opposed the government. The government brought a speedy end to al-Dhuwayb's establishment, but the nationalist ideas and strong Islamic sentiments which his publications represented remained alive in the minds of Moroccan intellectuals, as we shall see in the last chapter.

Ahmad Yumni, the Ottoman Agent in Fez

The fifth major and ironically still mysterious printer in Morocco was Ahmad Yumni.[84] It appears that Yumni was not only a foreigner, but also the very first individual to set up a moveable-type printing machine in Fez, sometime between 1905 and 1906.[85] Here I will examine Yumni's background and his motives for bringing into Morocco a

84. For Yumni's publications see al-Manuni, "al-Bidayat al-'ula li-zuhur al-matba'ah al-Maghribiyah" in al-Tiba'ah wa al-nashr, nos. 3-4 (April-May, 1984), pp. 19-21; also his book Mazahir, vol. 2, pp. 464-465.

85. This date is based on his first products, for example, al-Murafiq `ala muwafiq by Ma' al-Aynayn, which was published in 1906.

modern printing machine which had the capacity of four or five lithographic printing machines to produce books. What were the facts behind Yumni's sudden appearance in Fez, and, more importantly, who was Ahmad Yumni? The answer to these questions are very important because they will reveal to us a new dimension in using printing by local activists connected to a foreign interest.

No clear evidence has yet surfaced to indicate exactly who Yumni was. However, from several fragments of information it appears that Yumni was from Syria, which was at this period part of the Ottoman Empire. Among the evidence which leads to such an assumption is that in 1906, when Yumni printed his first product in Fez, he chose the Damascus-based periodical al-Muqtabas to publicize his effort.[86] At a time when he could have benefited more by sending it to the Cairo-based newspaper, al-Mu'ayyid or the journal al-Manar, which were very popular in the Arab and Muslim world, including Morocco. Also the typeface with which Yumni printed his products was similar to the German origin typeface common in Greater Syria (Damascus and Beirut). The Ottomans and Germans were political allies during this period, and most of the printing machines were imported from Germany instead of France, for example, which exported such machines to other Muslim states like Algeria and Tunisia. Another significant observation is that Yumni's typeface was in the Eastern style as evidenced by the format of the letters Fa and Qaf, indicating that the machine came directly from Syria rather than from Germany where it would have been modified to meet

86. See vol. 1, no. 10 (November, 1907), p. 547a.

Moroccan standards and adherence to the traditional script, before being sent abroad. In addition, to support the same assumption, it seems that a Damascus-based anonymous reviewer knew Yumni, whom he described as being a doctor.[87] If Yumni were indeed Syrian and thus an Ottoman citizen, what was he doing in Fez with a printing machine?

The answer to this question could be found in one of two possibilities: First, Yumni was not different than the numerous Syrian intellectuals who were the products of Westernized missionary schools in greater Syria and immigrated to various parts of the World (i.e., Egypt, North Africa, Europe, and the Americas) seeking better opportunities for themselves. In Egypt, Syrians like Jurji Zaydan succeeded through their journalistic and publishing activities to become leading figures in the country.[88] The same was true about the Nammur brothers who set up their business in Tunis as journalists and then moved on to Tangiers to become editors of Lisan al-Maghrib[89] the newspaper in which they presented Moroccan views as opposed to the other Arabic newspapers like al-Sa'adah edited by the Syrian Yusuf Karam for the French.[90]

The second most likely possibility is that Yumni was an Ottoman agent who came to Fez to influence local policies and tilt public opinion towards Panislamic goals. Among the evidence which could support such a possibility were: a) Yumni's activities which were identical to that of al-Dhuwaybi. He, too, devoted most of his

87. Ibid.
88. Philip Tarrazi, History of The Arab Press, vol. 2, pp. 86-87.
89. Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 266-267.
90. Ibid.

publications (five out of nine) to the writings of Ma' al-Aynayn and the Kattaniyah leaders.[91] Also, just as Sultan Abd al-Hafiz censored al-Dhuwayb he also censored Yumni's activities by purchasing his machine[92] in 1909. B) Among Yumni's and al-Dhuwayb's publications are a few Taqriz works which indicate the existence of a strong relationship between the Kattaniyah leaders (namely Abd al-Kabir and his two sons, Muhammad and Abd al-Hayy, as well as his nephew, Muhammad Ja'far) and Yusuf al-Nabhani, who was an ex editor of the official Ottoman journal, al-Jawa'ib and the head of the penal court in Beirut by the turn of the 20th century.[94] As a matter of fact, when al-Nabhani's publications in Sufism are reviewed, one finds repeated references to the Kattaniyah leaders[95] ,and we can observe the German-made type-face which is very close to the type face utilized by Yumni in Fez.[96] However, before drawing any conclusions, one should also consider the circumstantial evidence such as the timing of Yumni's appearance in Fez between 1905 and 1906.

During these years it was a foregone conclusion that France would become Morocco's new master, especially since France had succeeded in solving its differences with England in regard to their

91. See note 84 above.
92. al-Manuni, Mazahir vol. 2, pp. 464-465.
93. See the colophon of Ma' al-Aynayn's book, al-Murafiq `ala al-muwafiq which was interestingly financed (i.e.,Bidhimmat) by Idris ibn Ya`ish, who was the regent of Sultan Abd al-Aziz.
94. Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani, Fihris al-faharis, vol. 2, pp. 427-428; Zaki Mujahid, al-A`lam, vol. 3, pp. 132-133.
95. See his book, Karamat al-awliya, pp. 226-227.
96. Ibid. Also compare the same typeface with the publications produced by al-Matba`ah al-Hukumiyah in Damascus.

respective spheres of influence in Africa.[97] With fear of this domination hanging in the air, the Moroccan Sultan Abd al-Aziz moved to strengthen his position with the 'Ulama of his kingdom, especially the pro-Ottoman Kattaniyah leaders who were at the forefront of the opposition to the Europeans in the country.

According to the unpublished memoirs of Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani, the Sultan showed his respect and generosity to him and his older brother, Muhammad al-Kattani, by sending them at his own expense on a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1905. During this pilgrimage, the Kattani leaders were received as statesmen in both the holy cities of Hijaz as well as in Egypt by the Khidive.[98] Although the memoir does not mention Yumni and his printing machine, it is very likely that it was in this political openness towards the pro-Ottoman elements that Yumni found his way to Fez in order to advance the principles of panislamism with the aid of printing technology.

By 1905, Europeans had made several inroads into the heart of Moroccan society. In the large cities and towns, Europeans had succeeded in shifting the loyalties of hundreds of notable merchants (i.e. the proteges) away from their traditional leaders towards Europe, despite the fact such an act was considered by Islamic codes as _Kufr_, which deserved death as a punishment.[99] Missionaries had contributed through their medical services and their program of vaccinations against cholera

97. Burke, _Prelude to Protectorate_, pp. 68-75.
98. See _al-Mazahir al-Samiyah_, vol. 1, pp. 337-338. Here al-Kattani also informs us that Sultan Abd al-Aziz provided the al-Jami'i palace in Fez to be as a residence for Muhammad al-Kattani.
99. Ali al-Tasuli, _Ajwibah lil-Amir Abd al-Qadir al-Jaza`iri._

and other killing diseases.[100] Their successes undermined the effectiveness of the traditional medicine and the spiritual curing powers of the Sufi leaders.

Against such inroads and increasing power, Moroccan traditional leaders, namely the Kattaniyah, sought to preserve Islam and its various institutions by adopting reforms such as: a) establishing schools which taught Islamic principles blended with modern subjects;[101] b) the creation of an Islamic constitution,[102] and a council of notables to debate national matters before formal action[103] was taken by the Sultan; c) reliance on Muslim experts to revive and reform Morocco. Given this situation, it is not surprising to find Yumni in Fez not only as a printer managing a modern moveable-type printing machine, but also as an expert on modern medicine.

During his stay in Fez between 1905 and 1909 Ahmad Yumni produced a total of nine titles. The size is by no means great but they marked the very beginning of Morocco's gradual but certain shift from script to identical printed letters, a move which was further consolidated by Sultan Abd al-Hafiz who confiscated Yumni's printing machine to produce his own writings in the new typeface.[104]

In short, despite the little we know about Yumni and his background and his presence in Fez, it is possible to suggest that he

100. Jean-Louis Miège, "Les missions protestantes au Maroc (1875-1905)" in Hespéris, vol. XLII, nos. 1-2 (1955), pp. 153-189. See also Bouchera, op. cit. vol. 1, pp. 167-174.
101. al-Manuni, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 311, 344-345, 363.
102. Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 405-406.
103. Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 537-541.
104. See Chapter VI of this study.

came to Morocco in order to influence Morocco's political directions with the aid of pro-Ottoman elements in the country, namely the Kattaniyah Sufi order. What is significant about Yumni is the fact that he was the first individual to introduce a moveable-type printing machine into Fez, the capital of the traditionalists in Morocco. His efforts represent a new dimension in Morocco which was a local element other than the State becoming involved in international politics via the aid of printing technology.

V. The Individual Publishers

Aside from all other publishers, (the government, authors and professional printers) there were numerous individuals in Morocco who found, in printing, a means to generate income and to achieve social and other gains. From 1879 until the 1920s there were about twenty individual publishers whose names appeared on at least one or several colophons of the Fez imprints. Below I will provide a detailed check list of the individual publishers; then I will follow it up with a discussion of their activities and background to see how printing touched or changed their lives.

Date of Publication	Name of Publisher	# of books publ.
1879	Bannunah, al-Tayyib[105]	1
1880	Bannani, Muhammad[106]	2
1889, 1900, 1914	al-Iraqi, Ahmad[107]	3
1891	al-Iraqi, Idris[108]	1
1891, 1903, 1905, 1906	Gannun, Ahmad[109]	4
1895	al-Sijilmasi, Muhammad[110]	1
1896, 1897, 1901, 1916, 1926	Ibn al-Khayyat, 'Umar[111]	5
1896	al-Titwani, Afilal[112]	1
1897, 1917	Barradah, al-Khidr[113]	2
1898, 1900, 1901	Ibn Musa, al-Tihami[114]	5
1898, 1900, 1901	al-Badawi Zawwitin[115]	1

105. Published: Hashiyah Ibn al-Hajj `ala sharh al-Makkudi.

106. Published: al-Durr al-nafis by Ahmad al-Halabi, and al-Itqan wa al-ihkam by M. Mayyarah.

107. Published: Ajwibah by Ibn Hilal, Hawashi by Abd al-Qadir al-Fasi, and Taqwim awqat al-salat, (author unknown).

108. Published: Mukhtasar by Khalil ibn Ishaq.

109. Published: Iqad al-maftun, al-Taqyid alladhi, al-Zajr wa al-iqma` and Sharh Gannun `ala al-Suyuti. The first three were authored by al-Madani Gannun, while the fourth one was written by al-Tuhami Gannun.

110. Published: Khitmat al-Mukhtasar by al-Wazzani.

111. Published: al-Anis al-mutrib by al-`Alami, al-Jaysh al-`aramram by Akinsus, al-Durr al-nathir by Ibn Hilal, al-Durar al-bahiyah, by Idris al-Alawi, Shar li watha'iq Bannani, by al-Hawari, and al-Nawazil by al-Misnawi.

112. Published: Sunan al-muhtadin, by Ibn al-Mawwaqit.

113. Published: Ta`tir al-anfas by Ibn al-Muwaqqit, al-Sa`adah al-abadiyah by Ibn al-Muwaqqit, and Lu'lu'at al-anwar, by Abu Inan al-Hasani.

114. Published: al-Ajwibah al-Kubra by Abd al-Qadir al-Fasi, al-Jaysh al-kafil by Muhammad al-Shanjiti, Hashiyah 'ala sharh al-Buri, by al-Mahdi al-Wazzani, Salwat al-anfas, by Muhammad ibn Ja'far al-Kattani, and al-Muwatta by Malik ibn Anas.

115. See note 114 above.

1901, 1902	al-Nasiri, al-Tayyib[116]	2
1907	al-Sarghini, Abd al-Salam[117]	1
1907	Jama' min al-'Ulama[118]	1
1913	al-Kattani, M. al-Mahdi[119]	1
1923	al-Mahdi al-Wazzani, Abd al-Qadir[120]	1

To comment on the table above, one can observe two general points; first, the family background of almost every name on the list is either notable or Sharifian, and in many cases both. The Iraqis, Zawwitins, al-Nasiris, al-Wazzanis, al-Kattanis and Bannanis were from both Sharifian and notable families of Fez which produced numerous 'Ulama and religious leaders in the country. As for Gannun, Binnis, Barradah, al-Sijilmasi, al-Tituani, etc., they belonged to leading notable families which produced many 'Ulama and merchants in Fez and beyond.[121]

What this is telling us is that book production in Morocco during the era of printing continued from the era of manuscripts to be dominated by the notable and Sharifian families of the country.[122] This was predictable since these classes were the only ones capable of carrying such a financial responsibility. Therefore, in this instance there was lack of change.

116. Published: al-Nasiri's al-Ajwibah al-Nasiriyah and Rihlah.
117. Published: Ibn al-Khayyat's Taqyid nafis.
118. Published: al-Wansharisi's al-Mi`yar al-mu`rib.
119. Published: Muhammad al-Kattani's al-Kashf wa al-bayan.
120. Published: Ahmad Injay's Zawraq al-Kha'id.
121. Bin Mansur, Kashshaf al-usar al-Maghribiyah; also al-Fasi Mu`jam al-shuyukh. The former is an index to Moroccan notable families while the author of the latter work points out who were or were not Sharifs among his teachers in Fez, and Morocco in general.
122. See Chapters I and II of this study.

The second general observation is that the check list above clearly shows that publishing by individuals began slowly in 1879 and from 1889 to 1901 it became very active as each publisher financed an average of two books. The increase in publishing activities at this period is compatible with the economic upswing in Morocco in the early 1880s.[123]

The other important observation which can be made about the table of individual publishers above is the existence of cooperation among them to finance books. In 1914, for example, the text Taqwim awqat al-salat (Calendar for Prayers) was published as a joint venture by both Ahmad al-Iraqi and his brother, Abd al-Qadir. Also in 1900, both Ibn Musa and al-Badawi Zawwitin published together Imam Malik's al-Muwatta, which is in four volumes. Furthermore, in 1907, a group of 'Ulama whose names remain anonymous, joined hands in financing the publication of al-Mi'yar by al-Wansharisi, which was in twelve volumes. Printers utilized each other's printing machines, and publishers gathered their resources to produce books, especially voluminous books like al-Mi'yar or al-Muwatta which otherwise would not have been published on an individual basis.

The final important observation about the above table is that not all the publishers seemed to be in the business for economic gain alone. For example, Ahmad Gannun did not publish anything except his father's or uncle's books. Both al-Tayyib al-Nasiri and Muhammad al-Mahdi al-Kattani did the same thing. Both authors, al-Kattani[124] and

123. See notes 61 and 62 above.
124. Abdulrazak, op. cit., pp. 168-169.

Gannun al-Madani,[125] were famous religious leaders and had numerous followers or readers in Morocco, so there was an economic incentive for their children to publish their books. Also, one should not forget the fact that by publishing their fathers' writing, the children were also serving themselves socially and religously because they aspired to keep up their parents' legacies and popularity.

In summary, it is possible to conclude that the most significant role the printers and publishers had on change in Morocco was when al-Tayyib al-Azraq succeeded in integrating printing into the Moroccan economy. By doing so he shifted the direction of the product from serving the needs of the upper echelon of the society only, towards the general public. To succeed, al-Tayyib had to make printing a family business thereby safeguarding the secrets of the trade. He also had to reorganize his workplace away from the earlier principles of bringing together highly specialized experts towards the utilization of lesser skilled individuals as well as materials, in order to make a profit and insure the durability of his printing business.

Under the same principles which al-Tayyib perfected as Morocco's pioneer printer and publisher, and with the assistance of the government, al-Tayyib's younger brother, al-Arabi al-Azraq, emerged as Morocco's largest businessman. al-Arabi's development into a large scale capitalist could also be attributed to his skills and abilities not only in comprehending the modern technology and managing it well, but also in being able to produce his own lithographic ink and transfer paper which he possibly also distributed to printers who emerged in the

125. Ibid., pp. 171-172.

late 1880s. Furthermore, al-Arabi's success as a businessman might also have stemmed from Morocco's relative prosperity in the 1880s and the protege question which resulted in the availability of large quantities of paper inported from France and England, via the protégé agents.

Just as the prevailing environment helped al-Arabi al-Azraq become Morocco's leading businessmen in printing and publishing, some of these same factors also led to the break-up of the Azraq family's monopoly over printing. Such a factor was the government's need to popularize religious leaders and religious ideas (the case of Ma' al-Aynayn) for political and propaganda reasons. As a result, new printers and publishers emerged such as Ahmad al-Yamlahi, who became a one-man institution combining both economics and scholarship in a successful printing business. He also paved the way for the emergence of specialized and committed printers and publishers like Abd al-Salam al-Dhuwayb who not only copied, edited, printed, published, and distributed the products, but also served the political and religious ideologies they believed in. Furthermore, the wide proliferation of printing in Morocco brought in yet another new dimension to the country, which is the involvement of foreign Muslim countries like the Ottoman Empire to influence Morocco's internal policies and tilt the country towards them with the assistance of the local Kattaniyah Sufi order. Morocco's use of printing on a Panislamic level was not new, neither was the attempt of foreign powers to influence Moroccan politics. What was new (with Ahmad Yumni presumably an Ottoman agent in Fez) was the fact that a local leading Sufi order became the recipient of an advanced printing

machine, instead of the government.

Finally, aside from the professional printers and publishers in Morocco, there were about twenty other individuals who published books either as side businesses to secure extra income for themselves, or to serve social causes in the communities they lived in. This widening involvement in printing and publishing, along with the public as being the ultimate target to serve economic, social and political gains, paved the way for the emergence of new modes of expression and the development of new ideologies in Morocco, a point which I will take up in the final chapter.

CHAPTER IX

REVIEW OF INTELLECTUAL WRITINGS AND PRINTING

In this final chapter I will present and discuss several categories of literature which were offered to the public in Morocco via the agency of printing between 1865 and the 1920s. These categories include, first: the traditional themes of Sufism and Jurisprudence. Here I will outline the major modes of expression of these themes and how they were affected by the utilization of printing technology. The second category is political literature which was also one of the most visible and emerging themes of the period. Here I will present and discuss three works in which three different but interrelated political views were expressed. I have used a) M.J. al-Kattani's book *Nasihat ahl al-Islam* (Fez, 1908) [henceforth *Nasihah*] as representative of the rejectionist ideology with regard to Western interests; b) Ahmad al-Subayhi's *Ashab Usul al-ruqiy al-haqiqi* (Fez, 1917) [henceforth *Ashab*] in which its author advocated a moderate or accomodating view regarding the European style of reform to remedy Morocco's problems; c) *Qissat al-Qadi wa al-sariq* (Fez, 1920s?) [henceforth *Qissah*] by an anonymous author who describes France, the new master of the country after 1912, as a thief (*sariq*) who is very intelligent, well armed and articulate in Islamic sciences to the point of humiliating the judge (*Qadi*), who is described as the "judge of all Muslims."

The categories and examples cited above are vivid reflections of four different stages in Moroccan history between 1865 and the 1920s, during which different sets of scholars and intellectuals not

only expressed their views via the agency of printing, but also influenced their surroundings by it.

I. Sufism and Jurisprudence.

A. Sufism.

In 1922 the French Orientalist, E. Levi-Provençal, and the Algerian scholar, M. Bencheneb, compiled and published a significant bibliography of the Fez imprints documenting some 405 titles and presenting them in accordance with their chronological sequence and subject matter.[1] A revised and expanded version of the bibliography by this author[2] clearly shows that the field of Sufism made up a little more than one-quarter of the titles produced between 1865 and 1920.

The Sufi literature which was produced at this period was of five different but interrelated kinds: first the scholarly literature which focussed primarily on reviving classical texts. Examples are texts such as al-Rasa'l al-kubra, by Ibn Abbad, (Fez, 1902) and al-Hikam by Ibn `Ata' (Fez, n.d.). It appears that this kind of classical literature attracted some scholarly and educational interest during the 19th century as we find several commentaries about such classical literature by 'Ulama like Ma' al-Aynayn (d. 1910) who wrote a book about ibn `Ata''s Hikam in poetry (nazm) format.[3]

However, one interesting point to be made here is that the size of the scholarly Sufi texts seems to be very small (about 10 out of 128

1. E. Levi-Provençal and M. Ben Cheneb, Essai de répertoire chronologique, pp. 4-60.
2. F. Abdulrazak, Fihris al-matbu`at. Rabat, 1989 (forthcoming).
3. See Muhammad M. Ma' al-Aynayn, Manzumat al-hikam, Fez, 1892, also Abd al-karim Binnis, Nazm hikam Taj al-Din ibn Ata', Fez, 1906.

titles)[4] in comparison with the other categories. The significance of this is that Moroccans in general had very little intellectual appetite for books which were written for purely scholarly purposes; only the applied books were popular. In this regard it is understandable to find the text of al-Hikam much more popular than ibn Abbad's al-Rasa'il (for example) in generating commentaries or rendering them in poetry form to facilitate memorization and thus wider usage in the country.

The second and most popular kind of Sufi literature was the devotional literature. Among this kind, both Dala'il al-khayrat (The Guide to Good Deeds) by al-Jazuli[5] and al-Burdah by al-Busiri were universally popular and used by members of all the Sufi orders in the country. Moroccans read these texts in their feasts and celebrations throughout the country. These texts were produced and reproduced in several editions.[6]

What is most significant about the devotional literature is that it continued its functional services to its users in the same lines as in the era of manuscripts (see Chapter II). As a matter of fact, the utilization of printing helped to expand this kind of literature, not only because publishers and book producers were capitalizing on its enormous economic potential, but also because the need for such literature had increased during the second part of the 19th and the early

4. Other examples are Abu Midyan's al-Mawarid al-safiyah, Fez, n.d.; Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili's Hizb al-bahr, Fez, n.d.; Ahmad ibn Zarruq's Wazifah, Fez, n.d., etc.

5. This text was printed repeatedly in 1872, 1892 and once without a date.

6. See Abdulrazak, op. cit., pp. 83-84.

decade of the 20th century. At this period in time, the European threats on Morocco were gradually heightened.[7] In response, Moroccans sought comfort in their spiritual literature like Dala'il and al-Burdah which were often recited in masses or among small groups.

The third kind of Sufi literature was Hizb literature (for a definition and a discussion of this literature see Chapter VII). Although both the Hizb and devotional literature were very common, they differed from each other in length and universality of usage. The Hizb literature was shorter and, unlike the devotional literature, each Sufi order utilized its own Hizb. For example, the `Isawah used the Hizb which was composed by its 16th century founder, Muhammad `Isa,[8] and the Wazzaniyah utilized the Hizb which is entitled Salat (Fez, n.d.) by Abd al-Salam ibn Mushayyish. This was also true about other orders like al-Ma`ayniyah, al-Kattaniyah, al-Zarruqiyah, etc. However, serious efforts were made to unify all the Hizb literatures during the reign of Sultan Abd al-Aziz (between 1894 and 1908) and under the direction of the Grand Vizier Ahmad ibn Musa (d. 1900). (For more details see chapter VII).

What is significant about the Hizb literature is that it reflected the long standing competition between the various Moroccan orders to win new followers. This competing factor was highlighted as the result of using printing technology. When the diversity among the Sufi orders became too visible in the printed media, the technology was also utilized to unify them by combining all the Hizb literature in one. What

7. For a general study of Morocco's relations with Europe, see J.L. Miège, Le Maroc et l'Europe, Paris, 1963.

8. Idris al-Idris, Qa'imat al-matbu`at, p. 65.

is interesting to point out here is that the bulk of Sufi literature, especially the Hizb literature, was produced between 1892 and 1910 when the most colorful and popular Sufi leaders, Ma' al-Aynayn and Muhammad ibn Abd al-Kabir al-Kattani, joined hands in uniting all the Sufi orders with the encouragement of the State to mobilize the country to face its challenges against the Western powers (see Chapter VII). The Hizb literature by itself did not provide any political ideology. Instead, its spiritual significance to the public and the State prompted a sudden surge in producing such literature at this period.

The fourth kind of Sufi literature was the apologetics. This body of literature included such works as Gannun's Iqaz al-maftun (Fez, 1905) in which he condemned the unorthodox pretenses of dancing and singing by various Sufi orders. Abd al-Kabir al-Kattani's Nujum (Fez, 1913) in which he described the praying rituals and dances of the Kattaniyah order; Muhammad al-Shanqiti's Sirriyat al-haqq (Fez, 1901) in which he defended the head of the Tijaniyah order, and Ahmad Sukayrij's various writings which were also in defense of his Tijaniyah order.[9] What is interesting about this kind of literature is that, unlike the ritualistic or symbolic Hizb literature, it provided details and reasons why the Sufi orders were in constant competition. One such reason is the self-portrayal of each order as the most orthodox or spiritual in order to attract the largest possible number of followers.

The fifth kind of Sufi literature was in the field of biography. Texts like Tuhfat al-ikhwan (Fez, 1906) by Hamdun al-Tahiri and

9. For a list of Sukayrij's works, see Abdulrazak, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

Mumti` al-asma` (Fez, 1887) by M. al-Mahdi al-Fasi are among the best examples. The former text covered the biographical details and activities of the Wazzani Sufi leaders and their distinguished students or followers while the latter took up the activities of al-Jazuli, the author of Dala'il al-khayrat, and his numerous followers in Morocco.

The importance of these biographical works was much more than their scholarly appeal. They basically served to demonstrate the popularity of this or that leader and to document the news of their karamah (miracles).[10] In general, however, the size of the biographical texts in Sufism was not very large considering the fact that there were many Sufi orders in the country. However, similar biographical information about the Sufi leaders and their miracles was also available in general biographies or historical texts such as Muhammad al-Qadiri's Nashr al-mathani (Fez, 1892).

Between 1865 and 1920 Moroccans produced more than 38,000 copies of books in this field making it the most visible literature in the country.[11] The significance of this literature is that it was for the most part directed to the general public in order to increase membership in the Sufi orders or to tap the marketability of this literature by publishers and printers. Whatever the case, the sheer size of books on Sufism was the clearest evidence of a shift in the direction of book production.

10. Hamdun al-Tahiri, Tuhfat al-ikhwan, pp. 39, 97, 106, 130, 141, 199.

11. This figure is based on 128 titles, the average being 300 copies per title. no added volumes or second or third editions are included in it.

In the era of manuscripts, books were written for the elite and the upper echelons of Moroccan society (see Chapter I), but in the era of printing, it was the larger circles of readers who became the main targets of book production. This phenomenon was also apparent in the field of jurisprudence and the other disciplines as well.

B. Jurisprudence.

The second largest share of printed books was in Malikiyah jurisprudence. The principles of Malikiyah, as we know it, have been well preserved in Malik's own book, al-Muwatta which is believed to have been handed down to us via his students, either orally or in written form.[12]

al-Muwatta is a collection of religious principles presented in two parts: one takes up the field of Ibadat (prayers and other forms of man-God duties or relationships). The second is in the field of Mu`amalat which deals with all aspects of worldly affairs and business. Each of the main parts has been further divided into smaller chapters and sub-chapters according to their topics. The significance of emphasizing Malik's format is that almost every other text in jurisprudence in Morocco has been patterned after the format of al-Muwatta. Another significant point to make here is that, although the Moroccan 'Ulama throughout their Malikiyah history have maintained the text of al-Muwatta, their utilization of this basically theoretical text has always been second or third to al-Mudawwanah and to al-Mukhtasar. The former text is believed to be a compilation of Malik ibn Anas's actual

12. J. Schacht, "Malik ibn Anas." In The Encyclopaedia of Islam, N.E., vol. VI, p. 2163.

religious judgments in relation to events which took place during his lifetime. This text was compiled by Imam Sahnun during the 9th century and remained the backbone of judicial literature in North Africa[13] possibly until the 14th century when Khalil ibn Ishaq's Mukhtasar replaced it in prominence (see Chapter II). Both al-Mudawwanah and al-Mukhtasar follow the same format as Malik's text. The latter is in fact a summary of a summary of the former.[14] What is important here is that the bulk of judicial texts printed in Morocco between 1865 and 1920 were almost exclusively commentaries about these three books, especially the text of al-Mukhtasar[15], which was the main educational text in Morocco at this time.[16] In addition, all the published commentaries were in traditional formats.

The forefathers of the Malikiyah Tradition, as the medieval historian Ibn Khaldun observed,[17] laid down the foundation of three basic forms of expression in order to maintain and transmit the tradition from one generation to another. Such forms were the Shuruh, the Majami`, and the Mukhtasar. In regard to Shuruh or commentaries, there were two types: one comprehensive, the other, partial. In the former, one often finds two or more texts. For example, al-Khurashi's Sharh about Khalil's Mukhtasar (published in six folios in Fez between 1865 and 1871) includes the text of Mukhtasar plus the systematic sentence-by-sentence commentary by al-Khurashi. The book also includes

13. Muhammad Abu Zahrah, Malik, pp. 259-263.
14. A. al-Husaysin, "Mawqif al-Sultan..." in Dawat al-Haqq, no. 246 (March, 1985), p. 161.
15. For a list of the commentaries about Mukhtasar, see Abdulrazak, op. cit., pp. 142-143.
16. Ahmad al-Balghithi, al-Ibtihaj, vol. 1, p. 150.
17. Ibn Khaldun, al-Muqaddamah, p. 245.

occasional marginal comments by the editor, al-Runda, who was the second judge of Fez at the time.[18] An important point of interest here is that before the era of printing such voluminous works were not easy to come by, especially for less affluent cultural centers or remote areas of the country. However, with the utilization of printing, single copies of such books, at least, became available in most major centers in Morocco.[19] No one knows the effect of the availability of such texts on the quality of scholarship in Morocco, but the potential was there as a result of the new technology. This technology also made it easier for those unable to journey to Fez to have access to texts of the Malikiyah tradition in their own regions or nearby centers.

As for the partial commentaries, the bulk (3 out of 4) of the printed books in jurisprudence fell into this category. For the most part this literature was produced in small pamphlets or medium-sized books. Some of the common examples of this literature are Ali al-Qulsadi's essay, Irshad al-muta`llim (Fez, 1876) about inheritance laws; Ibn Abi Bakr Ibn Kiran's al-Rihlah (Fez, 1888) in regards to pilgrimages, and Muhammad al-Marghiti's Tuhfah (Fez, n.d.) about the laws concerning the slaugher of animals and birds for consumption.

Such small-sized books and pamphlets were made available by publishers because there was wide interest among the public in such topics. What is significant here is that such instruction was often spread orally or on a case by case basis during the era of manuscripts.

18. Abd al-Salam al-Runda, Hadith, p. 1.
19. One tenth of the book production was given to the government, namely the Qarawiyin Mosque College. These copies were distributed to the grand mosques around the country. al-Manuni, Mazahir, vol. 1, p. 300.

Scribes were mainly engaged in producing more significant texts for their richer clients. However, with the aid of printing technology there was a substantial effort made by the publishers, editors and authors to provide these partial commentaries. They addressed issues in direct and legible discourse for the general users. Thus, just as was the case in the field of Sufism (specifically the devotional literature), the Moroccan publishers, editors and authors who were leading 'Ulama were adjusting to a transition from the old ways to new ways such as giving the public needed knowledge through the agency of printing. Such a transition was opposed by a few 'Ulama like Ahmad al-Siba`i,[20] but for the most part the 'Ulama continued reaching the public through printing and this is why the small-sized and issue-oriented books and pamphlets enjoyed the second widest popularity after Sufi literature.

The second mode of traditional expression in jurisprudence was in the Majami` format. Here the aim of the author was to bring together a basic source in which all the major and formal decisions or principles of the Malikiyah could be found for consultation and conformity with the tradition. This type of Majami` literature, which was voluminous, is best exemplified by al-Mi`yar al-mu`rib by Ahmad al-Wansharisi which was published in 12 volumes by a group of `Ulama in Fez in 1896. This book consists of all the major religious opinions (Fatwas) by North African and Andalusian `Ulama up to the 16th century. The other best example is al-Mi`yar al-jadid (Fez, 1910) by al-Mahdi al-Wazzani which is in a sense a continuation of the former as it includes all the

20. For more details about al-Siba`i's opposition to printing, see the chapter on the 'Ulama and printing.

major *fatwas* until the 19th century. What is significant about the *Majami`* literature is that it differs from the comprehensive commentaries by focussing on the application of the laws which were not so apparent in the main texts of Malikiyah like *al-Muwatta*, *al-Mudawwanah*, or the *Mukhtasar*, whereas the comprehensive commentaries were utilized to transmit the fixed knowledge of the Tradition along with its proper understanding.

However, just as the publishers and authors or editors served the reading public by making smaller versions of the comprehensive commentaries, they also provided the public with small sized texts which included the religious opinions of famous 'Ulama concerning a variety of matters in *`Ibadat*, or *Mu`amalat* which were popular . In this regard, we find interesting publications such as *al-Ajwibah al-sughra* (Fez, n.d.) by Abd al-Qadir al-Fasi, *Ajwibah* (Fez, 1893) by al-Madani Gannun, and *al-Durr al-nathir* (Fez, 1892) by Ibrahim Ibn Hilal. Here too, the bulk of this literature was directed to wide circles of readers and users for obvious economic gains.

The third traditional format was the *Mukhtasar* or abridgement. The popularity of this format was not limited to jurisprudence as we find among the printed material a variety of other abridgements and summaries in grammar, logic, rhetoric, medicine, etc. Many of these disciplines were also rendered in poetry form (*Nazm*).[21] The educational, social and scholarly value of abridgements were discussed in detail in a previous chapter (see chapter two). These same values for

21. Abdulrazak, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-85.

the most part persisted during the era of printing.

These abridgements were unlike the partial commentaries or the smaller *Majami`* where authors addressed a series of single or multiple theoretical or applied matters in relatively simple and direct language or style. Instead, the abridgements (like the *Mukhtasar* by Khalil ibn Ishaq, or the *Alfiyah* by Ibn Malik, or even *al-Sullam* by al-Akhdari) were condensed knowledge and filled with specialized terms in jurisprudence, grammar, and logic etc. which only the 'Ulama could comprehend and comment upon in classes or through their writings. Most of these abridgements had various commentaries about them in print. For example, in addition to al-Khurashi's *Sharh* about Khalil's *Mukhtasar* there were over twenty other commentaries about *Mukhtasar* covering all of its themes. This is also true about the *Alfiyah*. There were over ten different commentaries about it including al-Turunbati's famous and widely used book *Irshad al-salik ila fahm Alfiyat Ibn Malik*.[22]

What is most interesting about the abridgements in general is that during the era of manuscripts they provided the less affluent members of the educated community with some access to knowledge without affecting the privileges of the 'Ulama who remained as educators, scholars and keepers of the source material. But with the utilization of printing and the availablity of both partial and comprehensive commentaries about the many aspects of Malikiyah jurisprudence there was bound to be a change in such dependency on the 'Ulama.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 142-143.

II. The Political Literature

Unlike the fields of Sufism and jurisprudence which accounted for about half of the books in print in Morocco between 1865 and 1920, there were a small number (about 20 titles) of very significant books in which Moroccan 'Ulama treated a variety of current issues of great political importance to the country at this period.

Among such issues were the question of Jihad (declaring holy war) against European forces, especially France, which was gradually absorbing the country into its political and economic sphere; the question of cooperation between Muslims and their invading enemies; the question of freedom in both the European and Islamic concepts; the consumption of European goods such as tea, sugar, wax, etc.; taxation; and finally, Westernizing the armed forces.[23]

Here I will present and discuss the text of Nisihah by M.J. al-Kattani (d. 1927) giving a few points about the author and why his book was one of the most significant works of political literature in print at the time. According to the Moroccan biographer, Abd al-Hafiz al-Fasi, who was one of al-Kattani's students, al-Kattani "was one of the last models of the traditional men of knowledge and religion."[24] In

23. The most representative literature in which these issues were discussed were M. al-Madani Gannun's Arba`un hadithan fi fadl al-Jihad, (Fez, 1908); Hashim al-Sa`dani's Qasidat sabab al-nasr (Fez, 1908). Both deal with the issue of Jihad or the holy war against Europeans. Muhammad al-Kardudi writes about renewing the Moroccan army in Kashf al-ghimmah (Fez, 1885). In Manshur sadir min 'Ulama Faz (Fez, 1907) a group of 'Ulama discuss Abd al-Hafiz and his uprising against his brother, Sultan Abd al-Aziz. Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani's Mufakahat dhawi al-nubl (Fez, 1908) talks about this transition of power from Abd al-Aziz to his brother Abd al-Hafiz.

24. See Mu`jam al-shuyukh, vol. 1, p. 78.

Morocco where genealogical origin was one of the major factors of social mobility and recognition, al-Kattani and his family were regarded as one of the oldest and purist sharifian Idriside families in the country, and supposedly blood relatives of the royal family. al-Kattani's father, Ja'far, his uncle, Abd al-Kabir, were the leading 'Ulama of the period as both heads of the Kattaniyah Sufi order and as authors. The number of books in print which were credited to the members of this family was about fifty titles (out of 463 known titles produced between 1865 and 1920).[25]

M.J. al-Kattani was educated by his father first, and by some of the noted scholars like al-Madani Jallun Hamid Bannani and al-Tayyib ibn Abi Bakr ibn Kiran who were all associated with the royal court as judges, educators, etc.[26] Following the same path as the 'Ulama before him, al-Kattani studied jurisprudence, Hadith literature and a set of related topics until he distinguished himself as a specialist in Hadith (the sayings and conduct of the Prophet). He also had acquired a great deal of knowledge in Sufism mainly through obtaining numerous diplomas from the heads of the Sufi orders like the Zarruqiyah, Darqawiyah, Kattaniyah, Ma'ayniyah, al-Nasiriyah, al-Fasiyah, etc.[27]

To consolidate his achievements further, he joined a larger network of Eastern 'Ulama through personal contacts during the Hajj season, receiving diplomas and correspondence. Among the 'Ulama whom he contacted were Yusuf al-Nabhani of Beirut, Muhammad Amin al-Bitar of

25. For a complete list of the publications by members of the Kattaniyah family, see Abdulrazak, _op. cit._, pp. 165-169. See also Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani's _al-Mazahir al-samiyah._
26. Abd al-Hafiz al-Fasi, _op. cit._, vol. 1, pp. 79-81.
27. _Ibid._, p. 81.

Damascus, Ahmad al-Rifa'i of Cairo, and both Ahmad al-Barzanji of Madina and Husayn al-Ba`alawi of Mecca.[28] Most, if not all of these 'Ulama were active members of various Sufi orders like the Rifa`iyah, Naqshabandiyah, `Alawiyah, etc. which were also proponents of a panislamic ideology which was promoted by the Ottoman authorities.

The central themes of this panislamic ideology was to unite all the Muslims to stand up to the gradual annexation by the Western powers of the Muslim world. As a member of a powerful Kattaniyah Sufi order in Morocco with all its attendant privileges, al-Kattani was attracted to panislamism since Morocco was also threatened by the Western powers which if successful threatened the end of the Shari`ah laws, the traditional guardian of the country. This panislamic ideology later on became the backbone of al-Kattani's book Nasihat ahl al-Islam.

Among all the books which M.J. al-Kattani wrote in Sufism, biography, Hadith and jurisprudence, his book, Nasihah is most remembered and celebrated.[29] This is possibly because all his other texts were along traditional lines while the text of Nasihah addressed a timely subject, and more significantly it articulated the fears and the demands of Moroccans at this (1908) period. Also, it is possible that the reason why Nasihah became popular is because of its courage and direct and simple discourse addressed to the Moroccan authority to remedy the declining fortunes of the country.

The specific advice put forth by al-Kattani[30] to his government was to restore unity, revive the duties of Jihad, adhere strictly to

28. Ibid., p. 80.
29. al-Manuni, Mazahir, vol. 2, pp. 384-388.
30. Ibid. p. 376.

Shari`ah laws, and abandon the adopted European man-made laws, including any form of cooperation with the Western powers. This is so because "there was no good to be expected for Islam from Europeans who desired nothing but to control the Muslim lands."[31]

Considering the fact that the text of Nasihah was published and circulated in Morocco in 1908, one should consider the fact that its publication was encouraged by the opposition forces to Sultan Abd al-Aziz to facilitate the transformation of power to the Sultan's half-brother, Abd al-Hafiz. The opposition to Abd al-Aziz not only included his half-brother, Abd al-Hafiz, who became the new Sultan in 1908, but also the Kattaniyah Sufi order which supported Abd al-Hafiz, and was the main force in providing the religious basis for the dethroning process.[32]

Also, it is useful to recall here that the Kattaniyah order had access to two printing operations at this period to publish and circulate its own literature (see chapter VIII). However, what is significant here is not the circumstances in which the text of Nasihah was published or the elements behind its publication, but rather the fact that it represented a transformation in the nature and style of politicial literature in the country. The printing technology moved from being used to produce Hizb or devotional literature which served to unite Moroccans through symbolism and rituals, towards the production of an emerging new form of political literature in which the vital issues of the time were addressed in simple and direct language. In

31. Ibid., p. 379.
32. Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 110-111.

fact, such a transformation had been in the making since the 1890s when the number of printing operations increased from one institution under the management of the Azraq brothers to six or seven operations. A growing competition emerged between the publishers to carve out their share of the market as popular and issue-oriented books were being produced including works like Kashf al-ghimmah by al-Kardudi[33] about Jihad, and Ajwibah (Fez, n.d.) by al-Tasuli which is a reply to a question put to the author by the Algerian leader al-Qadir al-Jaza'iri about Algerian Muslims assisting the French occupiers against their own country. So in a way, works like Nasihah by al-Kattani were an extension of such literature, even though it was more courageous in criticizing the authorities of his own country.

III. The Reform Literature.

Aside from the traditional themes and the rather rigid ideological literature discussed above, there were other significant works like Asbab usul al-ruqiy by al-Subayhi, al-Insaf (Fez, 1915) by M. Bujandar, and al-Da' wa al-dawa' (Fez, 1919) by Abd al-Hafiz al-Fasi, in which their authors opened new lines of thinking to reform Morocco.

Here I will limit my discussion to al-Subayhi's essay, Asbab, to point out further the role played by intellectuals in influencing their readers via the agency of printing. In general, much if not all such reform literature appeared during the French protectorate and was heavily influenced by it. At the same time all of such literature was written by the 'Ulama who were born and matured during the 1880s and 1890s when printing was issue-oriented books began to proliferate.

33. See note number 23.

Also, most of such literature, especially al-Subayhi's essay, was produced and published shortly after the French administration was established in Morocco. Accordingly, this literature is, in a sense, an extension of the traditional literature, especially since the lines of reform which they promoted were identical to those which were promoted by earlier Muslim reformers like Katib Celebi, Ibrahim Muteferrika during the 17th and 18th centuries.

Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Subayhi was born in 1882 in the city of Sale[34] near Rabat which the French administration chose as the new political capital of the country instead of the more traditional and religious cities of Fez or Marrakesh. Like most of his contemporaries al-Subayhi was educated in Islamic schools and just like most members of the notable families he was expected to develop himself into a scholar, a jurist or a businessman. In fact, by 1917 al-Subayhi was already the Muhtasib (market inspector) of Meknes, a position which is normally held by a leading judge or jurist or even a businessman in the country.

In December, 1917 al-Subayhi wrote his small (32 pages) but very significant essay which he called: Asbab al-ruqiy, (The Elements of True progress). In this essay al-Subayhi directed his intellectual energies to providing his audience with what he envisioned as a national agenda for progress, based not on the traditional themes or an anti-Western ideology (as was the case with the leaders of the Kattaniyah order) but on learning and borrowing new ideas and methods from the Europeans, namely the French in all scientific and applied fields. Realizing the

34. Muhammad al-Dukkali, al-Ithaf al-wajiz, p. 176.

value of his own fresh ideas and to protect them, al-Subayhi did something which was never done previously in his country. He copyrighted his work against misuse. To appreciate al-Subayhi's "vision of progress" I will cite below several paragraphs from his essay and follow up with a close look at the essay's intellectual value, its style of expression and significance in relation to the utilization of printing to promote his ideas.

In the preface to his essay, Ashab, al-Subayhi cited some of the reasons why he wrote it.

> The first of the reasons [which made me consider writing this essay] is to reveal our shortcomings in many topics. One such topic is in the field of Tafsir [i.e., Koranic commentaries] which is the interpretation of God's words and the sayings of Muhammad, the Prophet upon whom Islam itself has been founded.
>
> Second, to unveil our shortcomings in many other scientific topics such as medicine which is the knowledge of the human body, a knowledge which is needed at all times. This is also true about mathematics and physics despite the fact that the [earlier] 'Ulama of Islam showed interest in them and composed many books about them which are by themselves important. I said "by themselves" because of the periods during which these books were written and the fact that some of these sciences like physics, mathematics and the science of exploiting the land (i.e. al-Isti'mariyah) were advanced by the Europeans who excelled in them through revisions and diversifications to a point that they rendered the findings of our forefathers [the 'Ulama] negligible. But the blame falls on us and not on our forefathers whom the Europeans [themselves] acknowledged and benefited from. This is because we did not do so like the Europeans.
>
> Accordingly, we the people of Morocco should come forward to learn all types of science and reach a distinguished status in every field. And let us complement our religious studies with scientific disciplines in order to erode our past shortcomings and drink from the basin of science....all the knowledge which made [other] nations rise to prominence and true civilization...and let us not turn much attention to the attacks of the slanderers [who

oppose change and progress].

> Third, to realize that education in Morocco [the way it was and it is now] is the most important reason behind the state of backwardness in the sciences. This is so because [the system] of education is not [well] organized as it should be. For example, we find a beginning student who enters the Mosque in order to learn grammar. This student meets a teacher who uses [Ibn Malik's] Alfiyah [along] with the commentary text] by al-Makkudi. [It is very likely that the student] will find the teacher at the last breath of his lecture, and sits to listen without much understanding. Whereas [this student] is in much need [for another simpler text] like al-Ajirrumiyah. Furthermore, because the student needs to fill his day with learning, he attends [the classes] of another teacher where he finds the teacher lecturing [about] Khalil's Mukhtasar using the commentary texts by al-Khurashi, al-Zarqani, or al-Bannani and al-Rahhuni. [Here again the student might find the teacher lecturing about Buyu' (i.e., sales) or ijarah (rents which are at the end of the texts). With such disorganization and process of learning students [cannot learn] or produce even a single percent in one hundred. [This is not to mention] the [unnecessary] digressions by the teachers. [Once more] we the people of Morocco should make it easy for knowledge to be spread [and be understood] and open the door wide for sound methods of education." 35

Before commenting about al-Subayhi's citation above it is useful to point out that his central theme was to promote the use of sciences specifically industry, agriculture, economics, and commerce to be integrated into Morocco's educational system if Moroccans wanted to join the nations which had progressed economically and socially.

To further appreciate al-Subayhi's ideas and style of presentation, one can point out that at the beginning of his essay al-Subayhi made it clear to his predominantly traditional audience that it was his firm conviction that the religion of Islam was unmatched in its suitability for mankind at all times, therefore his promotion of Western and non-traditional sciences should not be conceived as abandoning Islam,

35. Ahmad al-Subayhi, Asbab, pp. 3-10.

instead his intention was to strengthen it. To support his confidence in Islam, al-Subayhi did not use citations from the Koran or Hadith as did the traditional 'Ulama to facilitate acceptance of foreign ideas or technology. Rather, he referred his readers to several non-Muslim thinkers or philosophers like Voltaire, Isaac Taylor and Shibly Shumayyil who were known to have made positive comments about the enduring social qualities and values of Islam.[36] This technique of building up a strong self-image among the Muslims was a common phenomenon in the Eastern world of Islam where publishers of al-Manar, al-Mu'ayyad, and al-Hilal continuously used the print media to capitalize on the emerging nationalistic or panislamic sentiment in reaction to the Muslim world's relations and conflicts with the Western world. These periodicals, some of which al-Subayhi cited in his essay, were common in Morocco. In fact, the panislamic journal al-Manar had a permanent correspondent (no name given) in Fez.[37] al-Subayhi was trying to capitilize on the ground work already laid out by the Eastern print media and to remind his audience that borrowing positive ideas and science for the sake of improving and reviving Islam was not a negative deviation because other Muslims had done so. What is significant here is not the originality of al-Subayhi's ideas but his pioneering effort to bring unfamiliar ideas to an overwhelmingly traditional audience with the aid of printing technology.

Second, al-Subayhi presented his ideas in the form of dreams. Dreams were often utilized by Sufi orders to predict the future and

36. Ibid.
37. See al-Manar, vol. 8, 1898, p. 159.

influence events. One of the most common dreams among the Sufi leaders was an encounter with the Prophet, Muhammad. In fact, among the Fez imprints there is a small pamphlet by al-Tuhami Gannun entitled, Hidayat al-muhhib (Fez, 1891?) in which its author guides Sufis in spiritual training through dreams in which it was possible to see the Prophet. Knowing the immense value of dreams to his audience, al-Subayhi made clear on the title page of his essay that his message or agenda to the Moroccan people was based on a dream he had experienced on December 7, 1917. What we have here is an effective traditional tool utilized along with printing technology to facilitate change (i.e. reforming the traditional lines of thinking and education.) What is of additional interest about al-Subayhi's style is that alongside his very traditional usage of dreams, he also provided bibliographic footnotes at the bottom of each page whenever possible. This was a new technique. In the traditional texts, authors normally added marginal notes on the sides of the text while citations were emphasized in the main texts. This new useage of footnotes might very well have been borrowed from the increased number of foreign printed materials in Morocco, but nevertheless al-Subayhi should be credited for being among the very first Moroccan intellectual to introduce new writing techniques to the country via the agent of printing.

A third interesting aspect about al-Subayhi's style is the apparent self-criticism which he exercised. This is clear from his reference to the 'Ulama of his time and the previous generations who failed to keep up with the scientific creativity of the earlier 'Ulama of Islam. According to al-Subayhi, such negligence resulted in stagnation while

the Europeans sought after new knowledge and with it built up a truly superior civilization with which they came to dominate the world of Islam. The 'Ulama of Islam, on the contrary, continued clinging to the old knowledge despite the fact it was unproductive.[38] This criticism is reminiscent of the method used by earlier reformers in Islam to change the attitude among Muslims to accept Western-style reforms. This method was used by the Ottoman reformers like Katib Celebi (1657); Egyptians like Rifa`ah Rafi` al-Tahtawi (d.1873); Tunisians like Mahmud Qabbadu (d. 1871) and his famous student Khayr al-Din al-Tunisi (d.1890). In fact, Khayr al-Din's book, Aqwam al-masalik in which such reform ideas were documented, was available in Morocco and some of the 'Ulama from Rabat (al-Tadili) have summarized it.[39]

al-Subayhi, then, was very much aware of the various reform approaches in the greater Muslim world and he was trying, via the agent of printing, to transmit these to the public. What is also interesting about al-Subayhi is his reference to Tafsir (interpretation of the Koran) and its neglect in Morocco despite the fact that the Koran is the main base of Islam. The record of book production in Morocco shows only four out of 463 titles which were in Koranic studies (mostly readings),[40] but none in the field of Tafsir. The reason for such a gap was not the lack of interest in the Koran. In fact, most Moroccan 'Ulama were memorizers of the Koran. Instead, the reason was the

38. al-Subayhi, op. cit.. p. 16.
39. al-Manuni, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 323.
40. Levi-Provençal and Ben Cheneb, op. cit., p. 34, item 5, p. 45, item 239.

principles upon which the tradition of Malikiyah was built.

According to the tradition, what matters most is to follow the religion of Islam the way the people of Madinah in Hijaz practised it during the time of the Prophet and the generations which followed until the time of Imam Malik ibn Anas, who founded the tradition emphasizing practice over theory.[41] This same principle was passed down through Imam Sahnun who collected al-Mudawwanah which included Imam Malik's religious judgments in response to actual events. This is also true with Khalil's Mukhtasar, which was a summary of al-Mudawwanah.

Thus, al-Subayhi's call to give attention to Tafsir was totally alien to the Moroccan religious tradition and it signified the abandonment of texts like Mukhtasar in which the true practical interpretation of Islam is presented. al-Subayhi was also calling for the end of taqlid (imitation) and the revival of ijtihad (the use of opinion in formulating judgments) which is based on the Koran and Hadith directly. al-Subayhi's call to reject Taqlid is reminiscent of the Salafiyah ideology, the religious reformist movement started by the Eastern 'Ulama like al-Afghani, Abdu, and Rashid Rida the editor and publisher of al-Manar. al-Subayhi's connection with the Salafiyah ideas must have come from Abu Shu`ayb al-Dukkali[42] who was known in Morocco as Muhammad Abdu (a reference to the famous Egyptian Salifiyah leader).

41. Umar al-Jidi, Muhadarat.

42. Abd al-Hafiz al-Fasi, Mu`jam al-shuyukh, vol. 2, pp. 142-144; Jacques Cagne, "Ba`d mashahir al-harakah al-Salafiyah fi al-Maghrib." al-Bahth al-Ilmi, vol. 35, p. 323; Edmund Burke "Pan-Islam and Moroccan Resistance to French Colonial Penetration, 1900-1912." In Journal of African History, vol. XIII, no. 1, pp. 97-118.

Although al-Dukkali was not as famous or as active as Abdu was in the Salafiyah movement throughout the Muslim world, he was a visible religious and intellectual power in Morocco. After several years of studying in Mecca and Madinah, al-Dukkali returned to his country to join Sultan Abd al-Hafiz's inner circle and emerge as a leading lecturer in the Sultan-sponsored annual Sahih celebrations. al-Dukkali tried to add the field of Tafsir to the curricula at al-Qarawiyin Mosque College. It is also believed that al-Dukkali's speedy recognition in Morocco was part of Sultan Abd al-Hafiz's goal to minimize the power of the traditional Sufi leaders like the Kattaniyah and al-Tijaniyah. In his essay, Asbab, al-Subayhi informs us that when he finished writing down his dream, he sent a copy to al-Dukkali whom he described as the Minister of Education. Also, in Asbab we find a brief encouraging statement by al-Dukkali to al-Subayhi, which the latter wanted to make public in his essay.[43]

The final significant point to be made about al-Subayhi's essay is his copyright statement. The term, "copyright" signifies a legal measure to protect inventions and creative works from use by those other than the author, except with his permission. The concept of copyright is by itself a major departure from the Islamic tradition. This is because the role of the traditional 'Ulama was limited to transmitting fixed knowledge and writing commentaries about it through approved and known formats. The 'Ulama, therefore, earned their recognition, prestige and benefits not from being creative but from acting as a link between the past and the future, as the knowledge which they

43. al-Subayhi, op. cit., p. 2.

served belonged to divinity and the Prophet, and not themselves. For al-Subayhi, as well as those intellectuals who came after him, the copyright statement was one of the many signs of the changing times and the march towards modernity in which scholars identified less and less with the traditional themes and modes of expression.

In short, al-Subayhi as exemplified in his essay, Asbab, represented a small but significant example of the 'Ulama and intellectuals who distinguished themselves from the earlier traditional generation in embodying more open ideologies and trying to publicize them through the aid of printing technology.

IV. Creative Literature.

The fourth example, which represents yet another significant facet of the role of printing in intellectual activities, is a short tale entitled, Qissat al-qadi wa al-sariq (The Story of the Judge and the Thief). It is not clear who authored this tale which appears to be like the tales of the Arabian Nights, creative and with a great deal of social and political significance.

The text of this tale which is printed in a single fasicle of eight pages bears no date of publication and no other references about its printer, publisher, editor or even its illustrator who succeeded in expressing the thrust of the tale on the title page. The reason why the identities of those who were involved in producing the tale were not given can be attributed to the nature of the tale. It portrays the 'Ulama or judge, as ignorant and feeble, while it portrays the thief (i.e. the French) as powerful, armed with a large weapon and knowledge

of the Koran, Hadith and old Arabic proverbs.

At first glance because of the illustration it appears that the audience for this tale were the Moroccan children or teenagers of the time. In fact, this cover illustration was the only illustration on any Moroccan printed book between 1865 and 1920 which was utilized to highlight the theme of the work. When we take a close look at the content of the tale and its numerous citations from the Koran, etc. plus its satiric nature, it becomes clear that it was intended to entertain and influence the general public through a rather clever and creative approach. This is not to mention the fact that the tale stood alone against a rather overwhelming number of pedantic and religious works. It was a fresh and unusual departure from the norm.

The Tale of the Judge and the Thief is based on two scenarios. The first begins with a judge reading in a medieval text (no title is given). In this text the judge reads that if a person is in a depressed or sad mood, he should take a ride in the countryside as a remedy. So, when the judge embarked on his ride, he was confronted with a giant thief whose spear, as the illustration emphasizes, is larger than the thief himself, while the thief is bigger than both the judge and his horse combined. (Another interesting point which the illustrator emphasizes is the thief's grip over his weapon and over the reins of the Judge's horse.) In this tense situation the judge tries to persuade the thief not to rob him by reminding the thief that he is"the judge of all the Muslims". The thief replies that he is "the thief of all the Muslims."[44] Then the judge cites several quotes from the Koran, Hadith

44. *Qissat al-qadi*, p. 3.

and proverbs as to why he should be left alone. In response, the thief retorts with an equally forceful citation showing the reasons why he should rob the judge. This first plot ends with the judge giving up his horse, his clothes and even his underwear to the thief. He returns home naked.

The second story starts when the thief shows up at the judge's house demanding a large sum of money because he wants to build a house for himself. This time the judge's wife tries to engage herself in a similar argument with the thief, only to find her husband preventing her by stating that there is no use. "Even if the doctors of Islam: Malik ibn Anas, al-Shafi'i, Abu Hanifah, Ibn Hanbal and Ibn Idris were engaged with him in a debate he would defeat them". So the thief is granted his prize and the story ends.

The central message of the tale is a statement that a well-versed and armed thief (which refers to the French authorities) is stronger and can secure the upper hand even against the powerful judge of all Muslims. The reasons behind the victimization of the judge were his poor judgment in relying on a medieval text (as the story describes it) without consideration for present circumstances. He did not think about safety and protection. Also, when the judge cited the doctors of Islam, he exhibited his ignorance by including Ibn Idris (the geneological father of all the Sharifs of Morocco) among them. This is something not even an average Muslim would do. According to the status and position among the 'Ulama, it was more impressive to have a connection to Ibn Idris than to merely be a good scholar, without such a connection.

Another interesting point about the tale is that such literature would never have been allowed publication prior to the French protectorate, not only because the 'Ulama, their relatives and associates were the main power behind the printing operation, but also because no entertainment or creative literature was encouraged. Books and knowledge were not meant to entertain. Instead, they were meant to transmit and maintain the traditional divine literature and its supporting secondary books whether in literature, science or jurisprudence. But with the changing times, Moroccan intellectuals were able to grasp the opportunities available to them to express their views and creative expressions openly or in conspicious ways with the aid of printing technology.

In summary, between 1865 and 1920, Moroccan scholars and intellectuals produced over 460 different titles, a good portion of which were in several editions. This body of literature covered a wide variety of disciplines such as Sufism, Jurisprudence, history, Hadith literature, science, and travel books among others.

In this chapter, several categories of Moroccan literature were discussed among them the traditional themes of Sufism and jurisprudence and three different types of political literature. In regard to Sufism and jurisprudence, it was observed that both disciplines, their themes and forms of expression continued to be the same as in the previous era of manuscripts. However, there were significant changes. Printing became an effective aid in transforming the thrust of book production from serving the richer elements of Moroccan society towards reaching the largest number of readers possible.

The books produced at this time provide us with evidence that more and more issue oriented books were produced, and from such an orientation emerged a small but significant number of books in which vital political issues were addressed. Among such books was the text of Nasihah by M.J. al-Kattani. In this text a fresh and courageous approach to Morocco's internal policies, was presented, and advice was provided to the State on how to restore the country's strength in the face of Europe's encroachment.

Although this text was different in its courage to criticize the state and its political agenda, for the most part it represented the traditional political vision especially in its rejection of non-Islamic approaches to solve Morocco's problems.

With respect to the two remaining types of political literature; al-Subayhi's Usul and Qissat al-qadi, they were more common to the French era in Morocco. al-Subayhi, in his Usul tried to influence his audience by providing a new vision of reform for his country, combining Islamic principles and Western sciences and methods. In Qissat al-qadi there is an absence of any overt political agenda. Instead it is rich with satire and criticism of the country's leadership. What is significant about the various themes and categories of literature discussed above is that they represented the bulk of the literature produced in the country. This literature was visibly presented and documented and preserved by the agency of printing.

SUMMARY

When we look back at the history of printing in the Muslim world, and especially Morocco, we can point out several major changes or modifications which were either directly or indirectly related to the utilization of printing. The first of such changes, which is perhaps the biggest and the most important, was the gradual modification of the Islamic attitude towards the technology and what it stood for.
By the turn of the sixteenth century, printing was a common phenomenon in the Western world. The Ottoman Turks, while allowing their Jewish and Christian minorities to establish printing shops in Istanbul or elsewhere, deprived themselves and their fellow Muslims from following suit. According to many historians of printing (Carter and Sabat, etc.) the Ottoman objection to printing was mainly due to the Sultans' fear that their fellow Muslims would be "awakened" as a result of using printing technology. However, their real objections to printing were two basic and interrelated factors: 1) the traditional conviction of Islam's superiority over other religions because of the Koran which was (and still is to many Muslims) God's eternal words and everlasting miracle; 2) the fact that by the sixteenth century Islamic education, scholarship and artistry in penmanship and calligraphy were centered around the Koran and the Hadith. Therefore, the utilization of printing at this time was unthinkable because it signified the substitution of machine-made letters for much superior script. Also, it meant the subjugation of Islam's sacred books to a tool made in Christendom at a time when the Ottoman Empire, as a representative of

Islam , was at the zenith of its power and supremacy.

However, by the early eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was drastically different from previous periods, in particular in the nature of its relations with the Western World. As a result of the Renaissance movement, including the scientific revival and geographic explorations, Europe had developed into a major power and a threat to the Ottoman Empire. In the 1650s, Ottoman reformers like Katib Celebi observed and documented the growing signs of imbalance between the Ottomans and their European rivals, but it was not until the 1720's that the Ottomans found it necessary to send envoys to France on diplomatic missions to observe the basis upon which Europeans had built their strength. It was through such observations and the recommendations which followed that the Ottoman government managed to become the first Muslim state to import and operate a printing machine under the directions of a Christian convert to Islam, Ibrahim Muteferrika.

Although Muteferrika made an earnest effort to defend the use of printing, and lobbied with the 'Ulama in Istanbul to implement the machine on a universal basis, the use of the technology was limited to non-religious, scientific or secular materials. Only a century later did Muteferrika's ideas about the benefits of printing became evident to the 'Ulama and Sufi figures like Muhammad Haqqi who saw that it could be of great use to Islam, if all Islamic books were printed and circulated as part of Islam's holy war against its enemies. With such a shift in attitude, other Muslim states like Egypt and its 'Ulama moved to install moveable type and lithographic printing machines from the

early 19th century onwards.

In Morocco where the utilization of printing by the Ottomans and Egyptians was probably known right from the start, the changes in Islamic attitudes towards printing made it possible for local statesmen like al-Amrawi to call upon the Sultan to import printing technology in order to revive the country's strength as did the Ottomans and the Egyptians. What is significant about al-Amrawi's call is that it also came after a diplomatic and exploratory visit to France just as with the Ottoman reforms. In fact, just as the Ottomans were threatened by the Western powers, Morocco, also, was suffering from the French occupation of Algeria in 1830. This isolated Morocco from the rest of the Muslim World. The French and the Spaniards had also defeated the Moroccan troops at Isly in 1844 and in Tetuan in 1860.

By 1865 Morocco owned and operated its very first printing machine, but the introduction of the tool was neither due to al-Amrawi's call nor to al-Saffar's earlier detailed report about the French civilization. Instead the machine was brought to the country by Muhammad al-Tayyib al-Rudani who was one of the local 'Ulama from the South Souse region.

The reason why Moroccans waited so long to adopt printing technology was due not only to the fact that the 'Ulama in Morocco adhered to the strict Malikiyah Tradition, but also to the fact that printing was not needed. (In addition, Imam Malik ibn Anas, the founder of the Tradition made it clear to his students and followers that he disapproved of the fact that non-Muslims had to touch Islamic coins on which God's names or Koranic words were scribed.) Also, the traditio-

nal 'Ulama of Malikiyah transmitted the basic texts of Islam from one generation to another, and maintained its format, style and even the Kufic script from which the Maghribi script was born. Accordingly, it was not surprising to find al-Rudani bringing into Morocco a mode of printing which made it possible to maintain the traditional script and even the traditional book format. Also it was not surprising to find the 'Ulama with the encouragement of the Sultans utilizing printing to revive Islam and the traditional literature up until 1912 as part of their response to Europe's rising power and in contrast to what other Muslims (Ottomans, Egyptians) did in using printing to speed up their Western-style reforms.

Nevertheless, as soon as printing was integrated into the Moroccan economy as a business, it became increasingly evident that printing was bound to affect the country on so many levels. On the economic level, for example, printing introduced the concept of putting together a body of experts, such as scribes, editors, printers, binders, etc., to produce a commodity for the marketplace. And because the commodity had to be produced in quantity, the creation of outlets in distant markets beyond Fez was necessitated for better distribution. In addition, when Morocco's first printing establishment overpriced the books it produced and consequently failed, the management changed hands from the government to the private sector and shifted from producing a product for the upper echelon of Moroccan society, to the general public. From this point on, especially in the late 1880's, printing began to contribute to the Moroccan economy in more meaningful ways, as it provided jobs for editors, scribes and printers. It also helped

authors to secure added income and publishers to emerge as small capitalists. Among all the changes on the economic level was the introduction of the concept of copyright which put a tangible value on ideas. This was a dramatic departure from the Tradition which had emphasized imitation more than creativity and innovation. This change symbolized the upcoming new era during which authors were valued more as creative writers than as a link between the past and the future in transmitting divine knowledge.

On the political level, the Sultans, the 'Ulama and the Sufi orders found in printing technology a formidable agent of propaganda for local and international consumption. Some of the vivid examples were Sultan Hasan's endeavors to publish the text of Ithaf and distribute it free of charge to the 'Ulama in Cairo, Mecca, Madinah and Istanbul to improve his image locally and abroad. What is more impressive than the Sultan's attempt to use printing for propaganda was the endeavor by the Chamberlain and Grand Vizier, Ahmad ibn Musa, to utilize printing technology to consolidate his own position in Morocco by popularizing the writings of Ma' al-Aynayn. From 1891 until his death in 1900, Ibn Musa succeeded in rallying scores of Moroccan 'Ulama, notables, and the common people around his leadership using the hopes and ideas which Ma' al-Aynayn represented for the country. Such hopes and ideas included internal unity against Europeans, solidarity with the rest of the Muslim world, protection from sickness and evil, and the prospect of prosperity.

Aside from the Sultan and the Grand Vizier, printing technology was also of great use to popularize the writings of many Sufi leaders,

in particular, the leading members of the Kattaniyah order. Between 1896 and 1909 the printing establishments of Abd al-Salam al-Dhuwayb and the Ottoman agent, Ahmad Yumni, helped to produce and circulate tens of thousands of volumes representing the political ideas and visions of the Kattanis, like Muhammad, Abd al-Hayy, and their cousin, Muhammad Ja`far.

By 1909 Moroccans were exposed to two brands of reform through the printed media; one in the die-hard traditional line which saw in reviving Islamic literature escape from Morocco's inability to deal with the changing times, and another one like the Kattaniyah line which offered a hybrid system of reform through which both a modern means of education and maintainence of Islamic principles and character were possible. The Kattaniyah line was also firstly anti-Western, and it saw no good in relying on European experts to solve Morocco's problems. From this second line of reform and ideology which was popularized in the printed media between the 1890s and 1909, it was possible for the new generation of intellectuals and reformers like Ahmad al-Subayhi to emerge. This generation was the product of a highly politicized era. They believed that if Morocco ever wanted to take its rightful place among other nations as both a civilized and progressive state, it had to realize its traditional shortcomings and work through a systematic national agenda to educate the public in agriculture, industry, commerce, economics, among other scientific and modern disciplines.

The other major political innovation which was introduced to Morocco in association with the utilization of printing was the evil of censorship. In reality, censorship did exist in Morocco before

the advent of printing. (But it was mainly connected to ethics or the moral conduct of the public rather than its political motives.) In the era of printing when the documentation of knowledge and information had serious political implications for the traditional role of the Sultan and his court 'Ulama, it became evident to the State that legislating new laws in regard to censorship was necessary to maintain the status quo. This is why, or how, the 1897 censorship laws in Morocco were initiated.

On educational and scholarly levels printing helped to bring about several additional changes in Morocco. As early as the 1880s, the 'Ulama like Ahmad al-Siba'i became increasingly aware of the effects which printing had on traditional education in which memorization and journeying for knowledge from distant lands (especially from the less populated villages or towns) was necessary. Also, with the abundance of printed books the students not only began to rely more and more on written forms rather than memory, but also they began to consult printed books for their own use or in response to inquiries. It was very likely that the 'Ulama misinterpreted their written records as al-Siba'i pointed out, but this was only at the beginning. The emerging trend of the new modern era was to demonstrate not only how much one knew, but also where to look for the needed information and references, something which was closely associated with the era of printing.

In regard to scholarship, printing technology was a great aid in improving the quality of books which were offered to the scholarly public. During the era of manuscripts any individual who earned, or had the qualifications to become a scribe, could duplicate books

regardless of his educational background. During the era of printing, this was changed. As a result, only qualified editors examined and corrected texts before publication. In addition, the accumulation of printed texts made it possible for scholars to compare notes and produce better edited texts. Occasionally the 'Ulama edited the same text twice because the first work required more revisions. Correcting erroneous texts or bringing attention to such problems is by no means new in Morocco's longstanding scholarly tradition, but to observe and do the corrections in a short period of time was simply not possible without the aid of printing.

On the intellectual level, it is impossible to document the existence of any clear link between intellectuality and printing if one compares the effects of reading a printed book over reading a manuscript. However, during the era of printing in Morocco, especially from the 1880s onwards, the combination of economic and political incentives by publishers and political leaders helped to create a new and simplified style of writing to target not only the pocketbooks of new readers, but also their minds and hearts in support of the proposed lines of reforms. Such a style of writing, and the political visions, succeeded in attracting more intellectuals and became a common mode of expression replacing the styles of commentaries, abridgements, etc. This was the impact which printing had on the direction of thinking in Morocco.

Finally, in addition to the social, economic, political, educational, scholarly and intellectual changes which the introduction and utilization of printing brought into Morocco, the technology also

helped to enrich the Arabic language in Morocco with new terms to define and express the various roles which were played by printers, publishers, authors, scribes, etc. These very definitions which were carefully rendered in the colophons of the Fez lithographs were also a great source of information from which we were able to glean answers to many previously unanswered questions such as why and how a religious figure like Ma' al-Aynayn was suddenly elevated to prominence in Morocco between the 1890s and 1912. Also, these same changes helped us to reverse the common impressions about the pre-1912 period in Morocco as being stagnant and unproductive. In reality the period was a dynamic one in which the 'Ulama, the notables and their leaders succeeded in instilling a deep nationalist spirit among the Moroccan public, before the French takeover. Therefore, printing was not only an agent to preserve knowledge, but also an agent of change which contributed to the shaping of Moroccan history during the 19th and early 20th centuries.

APPENDIX

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

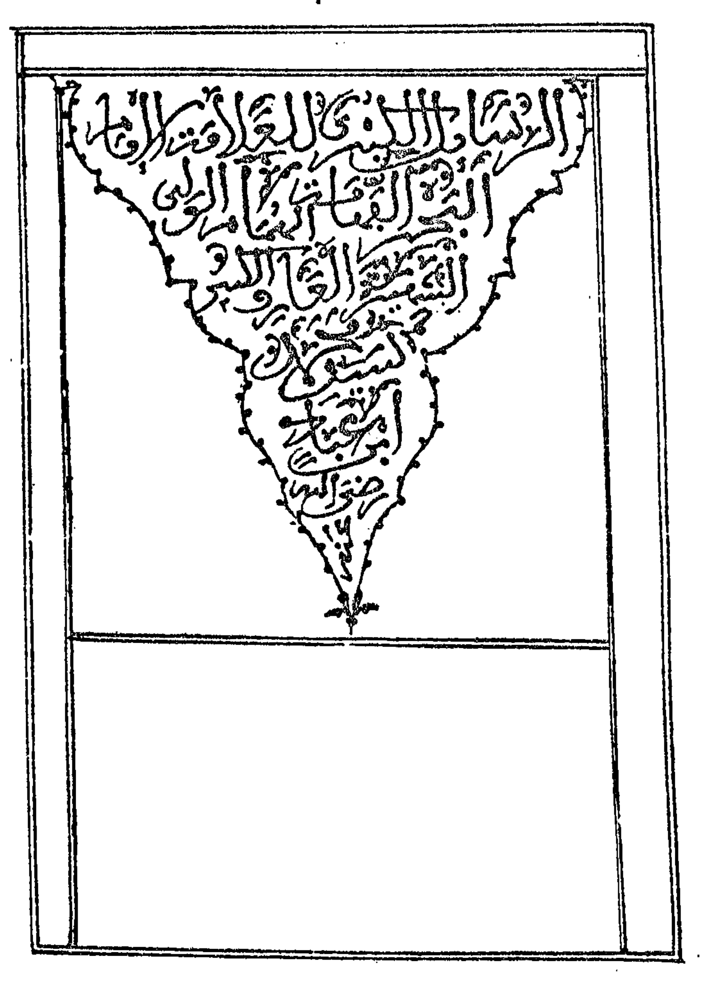


Illustration #1

Maghribi script in the Eastern style

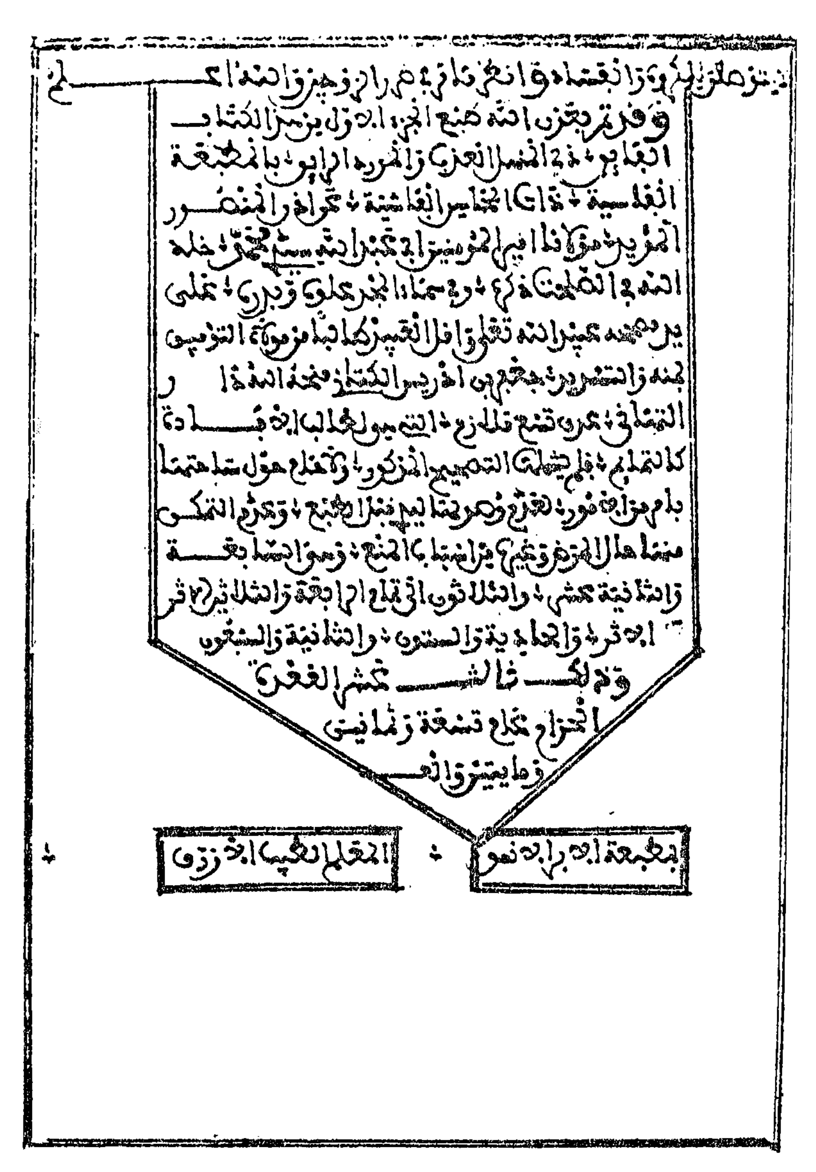


Illustration #2

Maghribi script in the mujawhar style

أعوذ بالله من الشيطان الرجيم بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
إن الله وملائكته يصلون على النبيء يا أيها الذين
آمنوا صلوا عليه وسلموا تسليما اللهم صل على سيدنا
محمد وأزواجه وذريته خمسين مرة أعوذ بالله من
الشيطان الرجيم لقد جاءكم رسول من أنفسكم عزيز
عليه ما عنتم حريص عليكم بالمومنين رءوف رحيم
فإن تولوا فقل حسبي الله لا إله إلا هو عليه توكلت
وهو رب العرش العظيم سبع مرات حسبنا الله ونعم
الوكيل خمسا وسبعين مرة اللهم صل على سيدنا محمد النبي
الأمي وعلى آله وصحبه وسلم عشر مرات اللهم أجرنا
من النار سبع مرات اللهم أجرنا من النار ومن عذاب النار ومن
كل قول وعمل يقربنا من النار بعفوك وأدخلنا الجنة
برحمتك يا عزيز يا غفار اللهم إني أسألك الجنة وما
يقرب إليها من قول وعمل سبع مرات أعوذ بالله من
الشيطان الرجيم بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم إنا أنزلناه في
ليلة القدر ليلة القدر خير من ألف شهر تنزل الملائكة
والروح فيها بإذن ربهم من كل أمر سلام هي حتى مطلع
الفجر ثلاث مرات يا الله يا صاحب الفجر ولي فرج عني

Illustration #3

Maghribi script in the mabsut style

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلى الله على سيدنا ومولانا محمد وآله 1

وللشيخ الامام العلامة العلم سيدي
محمد بن العارف بالله شيخ المشايخ خاتمة
المحققين سيدي عبد القادر الفاسي نفعنا الله
به آمين

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم
الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلاة والسلام على امام المرسلين وعلى آله وصحبه اجمعين
ومن تبعهم باحسان الى يوم الدين ذكر بعض مشاهير اهل فاس من البيوت القديمة

[illegible]

Illustration #4

Maghribi script in the zimami style

Illustration #5

al-Runda document



Illustration #6

The cover of the stury about the judge and the thi

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Note: Books which are marked with (*) were used in a limited way in regard to their colophonic information.

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The importance of these biographical works was much more than their scholarly appeal. They basically served to demonstrate the popularity of this or that leader and to document the news of their karamah (miracles).[10] In general, however, the size of the biographical texts in Sufism was not very large considering the fact that there were many Sufi orders in the country. However, similar biographical information about the Sufi leaders and their miracles was also available in general biographies or historical texts such as Muhammad al-Qadiri's Nashr al-mathani (Fez, 1892).

Between 1865 and 1920 Moroccans produced more than 38,000 copies of books in this field making it the most visible literature in the country.[11] The significance of this literature is that it was for the most part directed to the general public in order to increase membership in the Sufi orders or to tap the marketability of this literature by publishers and printers. Whatever the case, the sheer size of books on Sufism was the clearest evidence of a shift in the direction of book production.

10. Hamdun al-Tahiri, Tuhfat al-ikhwan, pp. 39, 97, 106, 130, 141, 199.

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1983 - present — President, Dar Mahjar, Inc. Dar Mahjar publishes, _Mundus Arabicus,_ a periodical of literature, criticism and essays on topics of interest to scholars of the Arab World. Dar Mahjar, Inc. distributes current imprints and manuscripts from countries in the Middle East and North Africa to universities in the U.S. and Europe.

1969-72 — Teacher, Arabic literature and language at Amir Abd al-Qadir High School, Mascara, Algeria.

1967-69 — Teacher, Arabic literature and language, Qal'at Dizah High School, Dal'at Dizah, Iraq.

EDUCATION

M.A. — Boston University, 1977, North African history.

B.A. — Baghdad University, 1967, Islamic Law and Arabic Language and Literature.

PUBLICATIONS

The Fez Lithographs, an Annotated Bibliography, with historical introduction. Rabat, 1989.
Harvard Catalogue of Arabic Collection. Boston, 1983, 6 vols.
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Numerous articles and essays in Arabic on topics such as literature, poetry, criticism, Sufism for Arabic newspapers and monthly periodicals like _al-Nur_, Baghdad, Iraq, 1969; _al-Adab_, Beirut, Lebanon, 1969; _al-Majallah_, Cairo, Egypt, 1969; and _al-Sha'b_, newspaper, Algeria, 1970-72.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

Founder and Managing Editor, _Mundus Arabicus_, 1981 - present. Contributed extensive bibliographies to each of the four volumes published.

Member, Middle East Librarian's Association, 1973 - present. Served as vice-president and president.

Reviewer for NEH proposals in the field of Arabic and Islamic topics.

Lecturer on Arab-American literature and the history of printing in Morocco.

Interviewed by newspapers, periodicals and television stations in Argentina, Brazil, Algeria, Tunisia, England and the U.S. (The Arabic Hour in Boston).

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PERSONAL

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